LIFESTYLES OF THE RICH & LIBERAL
NOEMIE EMERY

the weekly
Standard

SEPTEMBER 20, 2010 $4.95

RECOVERY NOVEMBER!

- FRED BARNES
- JEFFREY BELL
- MATTHEW CONTINETTI
- JAY COST
- ANDREW FERGUSON
- WILLIAM KRISTOL
- YUVAL LEVIN

...AND MORE!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WEEKLYSTANDARD.COM

STARWOOD KILLS L. A. JOBS

*Disturbing National Trend Emerges**

A YEAR AND A HALF AGO, when Treasury Secretary Tim Geithner announced $1 trillion in FDIC loans to help private investors buy the assets of failed banks, he said the plan would "get this economy back on track" and "help get millions of Americans back to work…"

But in the case of the FDIC's deal with a group of hedge funds including Barry Sternlicht's Starwood Capital along with TPG Capital, Perry Capital and WLR LeFrak, the opposite has happened. In downtown Los Angeles' Concerto project alone, the FDIC/Starwood deal has cost at least 600 jobs with a payroll of $80 million, based on our estimates. That's desperately needed revenue for the city's treasury.

The Concerto condo project's 30-story tower should be filled with residents; it isn't. A second tower should be rising beside it, providing 600 good-paying union construction jobs. This hasn't happened either.

The reason? Delay after delay imposed by Starwood, while it collects $1 million per month in interest and fees from Developer Sonny Astani, along with $50 million in management fees from the FDIC, which also provided ZERO percent financing, according to government records.*

Starwood's Sternlicht boasted to the *New York Times* that his goal is to be "like the Saudis" of the condominium market. "We'll be the guys. We will have price control." We don't think this is what the Treasury Secretary had in mind as part of the bail-out.

Instead of creating and preserving jobs, the FDIC's deal with the hedge funds like Starwood seems to be creating more profits for investors than helping the working men and women in our local communities.

It's time for Treasury Secretary Geithner's promise to be made reality.

It's time for Starwood to step up and save our jobs at Concerto.

Richard Slawson
Executive-Secretary
Los Angeles/Orange Counties Building and Construction Trades Council

* Wall Street Journal, *"Bankruptcy Court is Latest Battleground for Traders", Sept. 7, 2010*
* *Report of the Chief Legislative Analyst, July 13, 2010.*
* *Sonny Astani's letter to Congresswoman Lucille Roybal-Allard, May 13, 2010.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An affordable solution for poor vision sufferers

Now... you can read again!

Breakthrough optical technology can enable millions to read a book or newspaper using their existing TV.

For millions of Americans suffering from poor vision, such as age-related macular degeneration and glaucoma, the simple pleasure of reading a book, magazine or newspaper has become a thing of the past. Until now, the technology needed to help them overcome this obstacle has been expensive, bulky and difficult to use. Why spend thousands of dollars on big, complicated equipment when you have the most important component of the system in your home right now… a TV screen. All that's needed is the Miracle Reader™ Electronic Reading Aid. You simply place this remarkable device directly on top of your reading material to display the magnified image in full color… right on your TV! It connects easily to the standard video input on your TV — just plug in the yellow cable to the yellow input — it's THAT easy! Internal LED illumination ensures that the image on the screen is bright and easy-to-read. The size of your TV determines the actual magnification — the larger the screen, the bigger the image. For instance, on a 32" screen the image is magnified 12 times! It's comfortable to hold, easy to use and comes with an extra-long video cable and power cord so you can sit at a comfortable distance from the TV as you read. The system includes an A/C power adapter, or you can operate it with three "AAA" batteries (not included).

Call now and get our exclusive in-home trial.
Why wait to try this easy, affordable solution and maintain your independent lifestyle? If you are not completely amazed at how easy it is to read again, simply return it within 90 days for a refund of the product purchase price. Call now. Knowledgeable product experts are ready to answer your questions and get you started back on the road to reading.

Miracle Reader $149.95

Call Toll-Free and get a FREE Extra-Long 10' Cable!

Please mention promotional code 41310.

1-877-666-4513

80081

First 100 callers get FREE SHIPPING!

firstSTREET® for Boomers and Beyond®

1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

www.miraclereader.com

Copyright © 2010 by firstSTREET for Boomers and Beyond, Inc. All rights reserved.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DID YOU KNOW ▶ NATURAL GAS PROVIDES IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC STIMULUS.

This is not a drilling rig. It's a factory.

While the drilling rig stands as a powerful symbol, it is typically only utilized for three to seven weeks per well in modern deep shale gas exploration. It is then replaced by a small wellhead, or "Christmas tree." Go to any modern natural gas wellsite. Chances are you'll be surprised at its small footprint on the natural landscape.

AMERICAN CLEAN SKIES FOUNDATION

www.cleanskies.org

WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT NATURAL GAS AND JOBS CREATION.

Take a long, hard gaze out across the American economic landscape. If you were part of a local Chamber of Commerce right now, what would a new factory in town mean to your community? How much excitement would herald its arrival?

This is precisely what is happening in the 32 states that produce American natural gas.

Each new rig that appears on the horizon is more than a drilling rig – it is an employment engine. Today, natural gas supports nearly 3 million U.S. jobs, and this sector of the energy community is rapidly expanding its employment, up 17% in just two years. And being a technology-driven and capital-intensive endeavor, these are high-paying, quality jobs – right when we need them most.

WANT MORE JOBS?
PRODUCE MORE NATURAL GAS.

The consensus is clear. Economists, academics, business leaders and politicians nearly all agree the U.S. economy in the 21st century must be built around clean energy. This is where the jobs are.

WHAT ARE WE WAITING FOR?

PUT AMERICAN NATURAL GAS TO WORK FOR AMERICA NOW.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contents

September 20, 2010 • Volume 16, Number 1

2 The Scrapbook — *The Medal of Honor, Sir Paul & more*

5 Casual — *Mary Katharine Ham, frugalista*

7 Editorials — *Recovery November—and Beyond • The Tax Showdown*

Articles

9 John Boehner's Sudden Fame — BY FRED BARNES
Thanks, Mr. President, for that kind introduction

10 The Forecast for November — BY JAY COST
Bright and sunny for the GOP

12 The Privileged Public Sector — BY ANDREW FERGUSON
Mommas, don't let your babies grow up to be anything but civil servants

14 First, Stop Obama's Madness — BY YUVAL LEVIN
A two-step plan for the future majority party

16 A Big Tent on the Right — BY JEFFREY BELL
The multiplier effect of adding Tea Partiers to social conservatives

18 Republicans in Ithaca — BY DAVID GUASPARI
The few, the proud . . .

22 They Still Blame America First — BY JENNIFER RUBIN
The curious human rights focus of the Obama administration

23 Toomey, or Not Toomey — BY MICHAEL WARREN
That is Pennsylvania's question

24 The Unclubbable Senator — BY KENNETH Y. TOMLINSON
Jim DeMint, an outsider on the inside

Feature

27 Lifestyles of the Rich and Liberal — BY NOEMIE EMERY
The conspicuous consumption of today's Democratic pols

Books & Arts

30 Endgame — BY ALONZO L. HAMBY
How the Big Three concluded the Good War

34 Uncommon Reader — BY TRACY LEE SIMMONS
Frank Kermode, 1919-2010

35 Equality & Servility — BY MARK BLITZ
There are dangers in the democratic trends of democracy

37 Defining a Decade — BY JAMES BOWMAN
The lines in the sand are not yet redrawn

39 Moviegoer's Choice — BY JOHN PODHORETZ
A delightful evening spent watching a man amputate his arm?

40 Parody — *Crusader House*

COVER: THE WEEKLY STANDARD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Living Hero

It has been more than 30 years since the United States last conferred its highest military honor on a living soldier. But we have the privilege this week of commending U.S. Army Staff Sergeant Salvatore Giunta, the first living Congressional Medal of Honor recipient of the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, and the added pleasure of knowing he is alive and well to receive the gratitude of his compatriots.

As a 22-year-old Specialist, Giunta was stationed in the Korengal Valley of east Afghanistan, fighting with Company B in a craggy six-mile strip that has seen more action than any other in the war on terror. He and his fellow soldiers were ambushed on October 25, 2007, which split their group into two. Insurgents wounded Sgt. Josh Brennan, also 22, and began to drag him away with them. After helping two other wounded comrades, Giunta rushed the enemy, putting himself in harm's way to rescue Brennan. Giunta killed one insurgent and wounded the other.

Salvatore Giunta

"I started shooting," Giunta told the *New York Times Magazine* in 2008. "I emptied that magazine. They dropped Brennan." Brennan later died of his wounds despite Giunta's best triage efforts, administered under fire until a Medevac came to rescue Brennan.

The unassuming Iowan soldier, in the style of true heroes, is a somewhat reluctant one, according to friends and family. President Barack Obama phoned Giunta at his base in Italy Thursday to inform him of the honor. Giunta called his parents with the same misgivings he's had ever since his chain of command nominated him for the honor.

"He mentions every other soldier would have done the same thing. It kind of rocks his world that he's being awarded the Medal of Honor for something each and every one of them would have done. He's very aware of that," his father told NPR.

Giunta's Medal of Honor is also the culmination of a years-long campaign by veterans, living Medal of Honor recipients, and congressmen to once again confer the honor on a living warrior. The Congressional Medal of Honor Society's living membership has dwindled to 87, with news of World War II recipients passing away the most frequently added items to its website. California congressman Duncan Hunter, himself a veteran of Iraq and Afghanistan, sent a letter to the president in 2009, asking for a review of the selection process saying, "I am concerned that either knowingly or inadvertently, the Medal of Honor awards process is becoming biased to only acts of valor that result in the death of the service member."

During Vietnam and World War II, a significant percentage of Medals of Honor were awarded to living heroes. For Iraq and Afghanistan, the overall number of Medals of Honor has been very low, and all of them have been posthumous until now.

We have at times bemoaned the dearth of well-known war heroes in our current conflicts, and the unwillingness of the media to make them household names, as they've been in the past. Perhaps Sal Giunta will change that. His company's exploits in the Korengal Valley are already the subject of a critically acclaimed documentary, *Restrepo*.

As Iraq veteran and author David Bellavia put it in a tribute, "Giunta represents those that risk their forever for our today. . . . Congratulations to President Obama, Secretary Gates and most of all, SSG Giunta's chain of command for recognizing not only the actions of a genuine hero, but the importance for these living heroes to walk amongst us displaying all that it is to sacrifice for freedom." ♦

AP PHOTO / RICHARD BUMGARDNER, DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

A Plaudit Too Far

One of the sillier conventions of political Washington is the Kennedy Center Honors, in which the usual official suspects over at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts choose five performers to be recognized for (in awards terminology) lifetime achievement. This yields a few weeks of fawning coverage in the press, a glittery reception at the White House, and a gala concert at the Kennedy Center where the five receive their honors and look suitably self-satisfied. The concert is taped and broadcast on PBS around Christmastime.

Speaking of the usual suspects, since the Kennedy Center Honors are bestowed by an agency of the federal government, the five honorees are always suitably balanced for Race, Sex, Popular Appeal, and Quality of Achievement. A survey of the choices during the last decade shows there is always one, but never more than two, African Americans (Diana Ross, Tina Turner, Morgan Freeman, Smokey Robinson); somebody from the movies (Robert Redford, Steven Spielberg, Martin Scorsese, Warren Beatty); a rock 'n' roll/country favorite (George Jones, Brian Wilson, Loretta Lynn, Bruce Springsteen, Sir Elton John); and one representative of Dance (Suzanne Farrell, Twyla Tharp, Mikhail Baryshnikov) or Classical Music (Grace Bumbry,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Leon Fleisher, Zubin Mehta, Joan Sutherland). If you're the gambling type, you can make some easy money guessing each year's all-too-predictable quintet.

This year there is some slight controversy because talk show queen Oprah Winfrey is one of the Kennedy Center honorees, and Oprah's connection to the arts/performance world is, at best, tenuous. Defenders of the choice point out that Johnny Carson was an honoree one year—can Jay Leno/David Letterman be far behind?—and, frankly, The Scrapbook cherishes its memories of Oprah's hamfisted performance as neighborhood matriarch Mattie Michael in the made-for-TV movie *The Women of Brewster Place* (1989). That's good enough for us. This year's other honorees are drawn from Central Casting: Merle Haggard, Jerry Herman, Bill T. Jones, and Sir Paul McCartney.

In The Scrapbook's opinion, Sir Paul is this year's dubious choice. We say this partly for artistic reasons—doesn't everyone agree that "Yesterday" is especially cringe-inducing?—but out of a sense of propriety as well. As recently as this past July, Sir Paul was honored with yet another taxpayer-underwritten decoration—the Library of Congress's Gershwin Prize for Popular Music—and at the inevitable PBS-televised concert at the White House made the graceful concluding remark that "after the last eight years it's great to have a president who knows what a library is."

So we are now faced with the prospect of American taxpayers financing a night of civic worship for an over-the-hill British rock 'n' roller who comes to these shores to accept gratuitous praise and insult the twice-elected president of the United States.

On the other hand, things could be worse. It's the British government, after all, and not our own, that conferred a knighthood on Sir Paul. All we are doing is making a big deal out of a musical mediocrity who hasn't written a memorable tune in 40 years. We can be thankful, too, that we don't confer titles in our republican system, otherwise next year's Kennedy Center Honors might feature Dame Whoopi Goldberg or Sir Michael Moore. ♦

The Great Stimulator

During last Friday's press conference, CBS's Chip Reid told the president that "we can't get people in the White House to say [it's latest economic package] is a stimulus—$50 billion for roads and other infrastructure, but they avoid the word 'stimulus' like the plague." Wondered Reid, "Is that because the original stimulus is so deeply unpopular?"

Of course we know the answer is yes—precisely because not once during the press conference did the president utter the word "stimulus." "Economic plan," "small business bill," and "economic proposals" were all bandied about by the commander in chief, but not the "s" word. So when the president concluded his lengthy answer by explaining the many ways the economy would be boosted by his administration's actions, Reid pressed him: "So this is a second stimulus?"

The president laughed, and then elaborated: "Here's how I would—there is no doubt that everything we've been trying to do—everything we've been trying to do is designed to stimulate growth and additional jobs in the economy. I mean, that's our entire agenda. So I have no problem with people saying the president is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trying to stimulate growth and hiring. Isn't that what I should be doing? I would assume that's what the Republicans think we should do, to stimulate growth and jobs. And I will keep on trying to stimulate growth and jobs for as long as I'm president of the United States."

Impressively, the president did not slip once and say "stimulus" while explaining in a stimulating way that his job is to stimulate—and maintain stimulation—of the economy. ♦

When Toasts Become Roasts

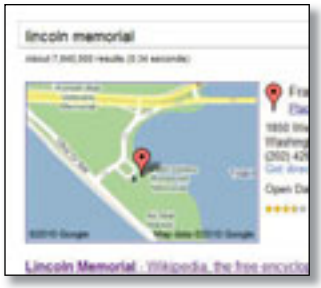
So much for that old saying, "Whatever happens at a U.N. conference stays at a U.N. conference." When the United Nations held a retreat in the Austrian Alps two weeks ago, Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon was toasted by his undersecretary general for economic and social affairs, Sha Zukang. Except it was Sha who turned out to be toasted. Thanks to a few glasses of liquid courage, the undersecretary let loose on his superior, telling him, according to *Foreign Policy*, "I know you never liked me Mr. Secretary-General—well, I never liked you, either."

Sha, who had been recommended for the job by his masters in Beijing, claimed that Ban Ki-Moon was plotting to fire him. He also turned to an American colleague, Bob Orr, saying, "I really don't like him: He's an American, and I really don't like Americans." Sha did have a few nice things to say about both Ban Ki-Moon and Orr, but those sentiments seemed to have been lost in the drunken rant which, as one U.N. official told *FP*, "went on for about ten or fifteen minutes but it felt like an hour."

Needless to say, the next morning a remorseful (and no doubt hung-over) Sha apologized to his boss. It remains unclear whether the undersecretary will have to resign. In fact, the only thing that is certain is that the bartenders will be paying better attention to those customers who are three sheets to the wind and will cut them off—diplomatic immunity or no. ♦

Oops!

Two weeks ago Internet cartography buffs noticed something strange: Google had misplaced the Lincoln Memorial. Normally, searching for Lincoln Memorial using Google Maps produces a result in the exact right place—Google drops one of its handy red pins west of the reflecting pool on the Mall, at the center of the circle at the base of the Memorial Bridge. But some time around August 26, a search for Lincoln Memorial on Google Maps dropped the little red pin south and east of the correct location—smack dab in the middle of the FDR Memorial. A search using Google Earth produced the same result, even though Google Earth's hard-coded point-of-interest markers clearly showed the correct location of both memorials.



This minor technical glitch is of note only because an abnormally large number of people were looking for the Lincoln Memorial at just that time—Glenn Beck's rally was set to take place there on August 28—and they happen not to be the kind of people beloved of our Google overlords.

Despite repeated notice—everyone from *PC World* to Yahoo! had pointed out the confusion—Google did not restore the Lincoln Memorial to its proper place until late in the morning on the 28th. Asked about the mistake by GeographicTravels.com, Google issued a nonresponse calling the switch a routine error.

But of course. ♦

the weekly Standard

www.weeklystandard.com

William Kristol, *Editor*
Fred Barnes, *Executive Editor*
Richard Starr, *Deputy Editor*
Claudia Anderson, *Managing Editor*
Christopher Caldwell, Andrew Ferguson, Robert Messenger, Lee Smith *Senior Editors*
Philip Terzian, *Literary Editor*
Stephen F. Hayes, Matt Labash, Jonathan V. Last, *Senior Writers*
Victorino Matus, *Deputy Managing Editor*
Matthew Continetti, *Associate Editor*
Jay Cost, Mary Katharine Ham, *Staff Writers*
John McCormack, *Online Editor*
Daniel Halper, *Deputy Online Editor*
Kari Barbic, Katherine Eastland, *Assistant Editors*
Emily Schultheis, Michael Warren, *Editorial Assistants*
Philip Chalk, *Design Director*
Barbara Kyttle, *Design Assistant*
Carolyn Wimmer, *Executive Assistant*
Max Boot, Joseph Bottum, Tucker Carlson, Noemie Emery, Joseph Epstein, David Frum, David Gelernter, Reuel Marc Gerecht, Michael Goldfarb, Brit Hume, Frederick W. Kagan, Robert Kagan, Charles Krauthammer, Tod Lindberg, P.J. O'Rourke, John Podhoretz, Irwin M. Stelzer, *Contributing Editors*
Terry Eastland, *Publisher*
Nicholas H.B. Swezey, *Advertising Director*
Catherine Lowe, *Marketing Director*
Richard Trocchia, *Fulfillment Manager*
T. Barry Davis, *Senior Advertising Manager*
Kathy Schaffhauser, *Finance Director*
Taybor Cook, *Office Manager*
Andrew Kaumeier, *Staff Assistant*

Advertising inquiries: 202-293-4900

The Weekly Standard (ISSN 1083-3013), a division of Clarity Media Group, is published weekly (except the first week in January, third week in April, second week in July, and fourth week in August) at 1150 17th St., NW, Suite 505, Washington D.C. 20036. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, DC, and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to The Weekly Standard, P.O. Box 50108, Boulder, CO 80322-0108. For subscription customer service in the United States, call 1-800-274-7293. For new subscription orders, please call 1-800-283-2014. Subscribers: Please send new subscription orders and changes of address to The Weekly Standard, P.O. Box 50108, Boulder, CO 80322-0108. Please include your latest magazine mailing label. Allow 3 to 5 weeks for arrival of first copy and address changes. Canadian/foreign orders require additional postage and must be paid in full prior to commencement of service. Canadian/foreign subscribers may call 1-850-682-7644 for subscription inquiries. American Express, Visa/MasterCard payments accepted. Cover price, $4.95. Back issues, $4.95 (includes postage and handling). Send letters to the editor to The Weekly Standard, 1150 17th Street, N.W., Suite 505, Washington, DC 20036-4617. For a copy of The Weekly Standard Privacy Policy, visit www.weeklystandard.com or write to Customer Service, The Weekly Standard, 1150 17th St., NW, Suite 505, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Copyright 2009, Clarity Media Group. All rights reserved. No material in The Weekly Standard may be reprinted without permission of the copyright owner. The Weekly Standard is a registered trademark of Clarity Media Group.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thrift in the Age of Twitter

I bought an accordion coupon organizer last week. It's a wallet-sized device that straps to the cart as you're grocery shopping. It comes with 24 durable tab dividers, to prevent the coupons for meat, dairy, and Hannah Montana paper dishware from commingling.

It cost $11. To date, that far eclipses any savings I've realized by actually using coupons, but a mission must start somewhere. And I am on a mission. It started with the coupon evangelists. There I was, enthusiastically engaged in the modern pastime of minding other people's business on Facebook, when a friend with two young children announced that she had done her weekly grocery shopping in a manner fantastic and foreign, the result of which had been that, upon check-out, the store was compelled to pay her for her patronage!

Intrigued, I began to read up on "couponing," as it's called by its devotees. I found that what was once an old-fashioned Sunday-morning ritual—searching circulars for 20-cent savings on baking powder—had become a full-time and fully modern pursuit. I began vaguely to recall the couponing of my childhood—my own mother's coupon tin, avocado green in the fashion of the time, perched on the grocery cart seat I had recently outgrown. Its position was fitting, as the tin had greater power over my mother than I could claim at the time, its contents dictating the family's weekly menu with sometimes dubious results. The oft-deployed SPAM coupon was the bane of the Ham kids, who considered it among the great, cosmic injustices of life that the tin's murky, green confines never seemed to yield up coupons for fudgesicles.

I found myself suddenly bewitched by the memory of the little green dinner despot. The tale of my friend's extraordinary shopping trip seemed a key to unlocking the tin's great power and resolving some leftover childhood consternation. Perhaps it's that I'm getting older, but I feel I can now understand my mother's near-spiritual sense of purpose on those Sunday shopping trips. Though I don't have kids, I'm in a new stage of life—one in which I buy large quantities of laundry detergent in

MATT COLLINS

the same style of countertop dispenser in which I used to purchase large quantities of wine. I'm old enough, that is, to have occasionally been overwhelmed by the idea of feeding several tiny mouths with the alimentary capacity of a Nathan's hot-dog eating contest but none of the prize money.

I have always been a natural cheapskate, but never an industrious one. I make my means and live within them, but am too lazy to do it with exceptional concentration. The first lesson of couponing is that it's not something one pays lip service to—you don't just collect on easy savings. Sure, you may get 15 percent off your next purchase at Ann Taylor, but you're not really getting out of this endeavor all you could unless you make it a part of your everyday life—buy a book from a coupon guru, read a couple couponing blogs, probably write a coupon blog, and have coupon seminars with friends.

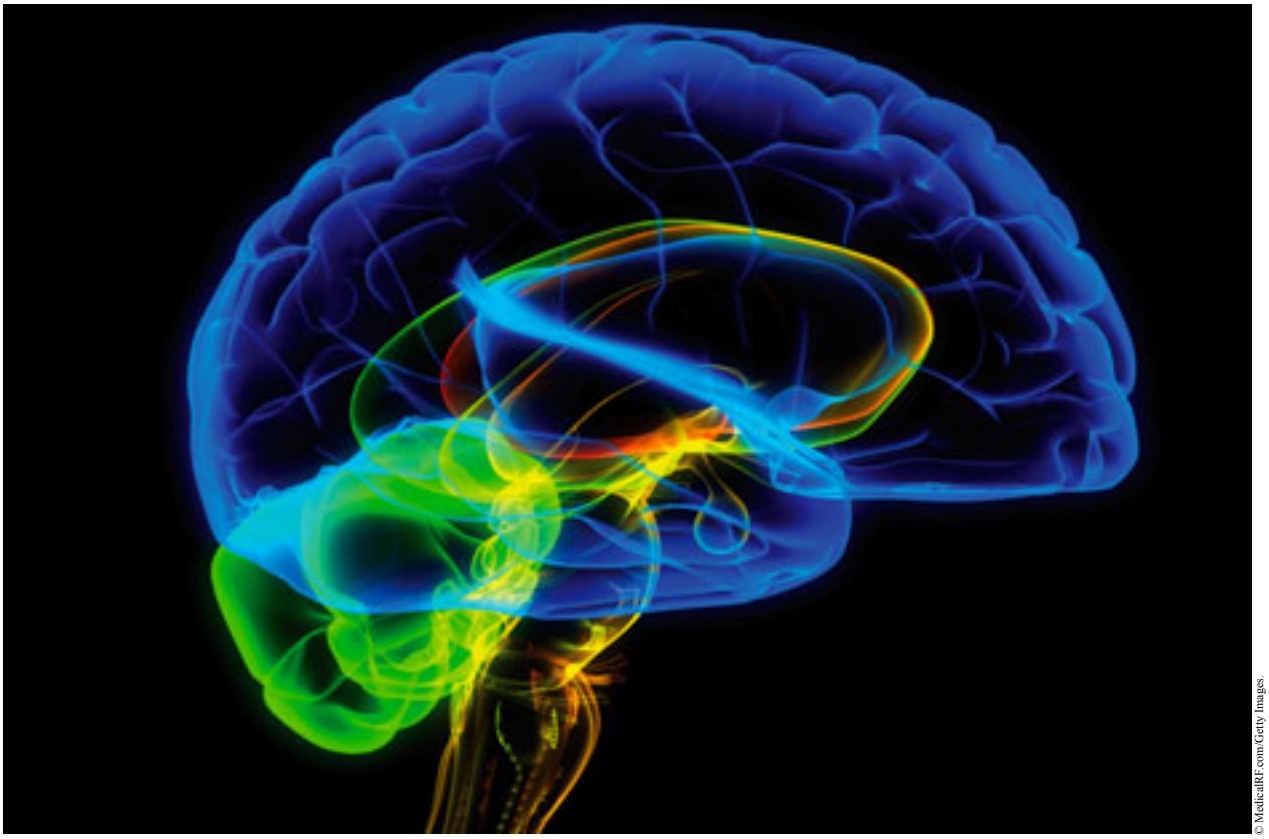
Coupons have come a long way since Asa Candler, father of the best-known brand in the history of the world (and the sweet elixir that fuels my work day), created the first modern coupon in 1887, mailing an offer for a free Coca-Cola to potential customers and inserting coupons in magazines. Thanks to new technology, the integration of coupons into one's life can be thorough in the extreme. An application on my cell phone tells me when I'm near an establishment where I could get a buck off a delicious freshly sliced deli sandwich, for instance. Websites like Groupon allow you to buy online coupons from your local restaurants and stores and double up on your savings by promoting coupons to your friends via email, Twitter, and Facebook.

But even if the way one finds coupons these days is newfangled, a life of couponing still rewards good old-fashioned diligence and frugality. In economic downturns—the Great Depression is when couponing found its place in the pantheon of American rituals—there's more reason than ever for consumers to try to save, and more reason for companies to earn their business by helping them. I think that's what I love about it. Coupons reward good behavior on both sides of a mutually beneficial transaction, freely entered into. They're tiny, paper refutations of the zero-sum caricature of capitalism, and for couponers, a daily exercise in respecting what they have in hard times.

That seems healthy, and I'm determined to join their ranks. Of course, I have to wait for my coupon organizer to turn my muddle of miscellaneous savings into a rewarding new way of life—unless my mom will let me use hers. SPAM, anyone?

Mary Katharine Ham

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



© MedicalRF.com/Getty Images.

How Your Brain Works

Everything you hear, feel, see, and think is controlled by your brain. It allows you to cope masterfully with your everyday environment and is capable of producing breathtaking athletic feats, sublime works of art, and profound scientific insights. But its most amazing achievement may be that it can understand itself.

Understanding the Brain takes you inside this astonishingly complex organ to show you how it works. You explore a wealth of neuroscientific topics including the structure of the brain, the relationship between brain and mind, and higher-order cognitive functions such as language, emotion, and consciousness. You also discover how the brain can continue to develop at any age, allowing you to constantly enrich the life of your mind. Taught by neuroscientist and award-winning Professor Jeanette Norden, these 36 lively lectures are designed specifically for those without a background in science.

This course is one of The Great Courses®, a noncredit, recorded college lecture series from The Teaching Company®. Award-winning professors of a wide array of subjects in the sciences and the liberal arts have made more than 300 college-level courses that are available now on our website.

Understanding the Brain

Taught by Professor Jeanette Norden, Vanderbilt University

Lecture Titles

1. Historical Underpinnings of Neuroscience
2. Central Nervous System—Gross Organization
3. Central Nervous System—Internal Organization
4. Central Nervous System—Subdivisions
5. Cortex—Lobes and Areas
6. Cortex—Sensory, Motor, and Association Areas
7. Central Nervous System—Development
8. Central Nervous System—Cellular Organization
9. Pathways and Synapses
10. Neurotransmitters
11. Stroke
12. The Visual System—The Eye
13. The Visual System—The Cortex
14. The Auditory System
15. The Somatosensory System
16. Agnosias
17. The Motor System—Voluntary Movement
18. The Motor System—Coordinated Movement
19. Parkinson's Disease
20. Language
21. The Limbic System—Anatomy
22. The Limbic System—Biochemistry
23. Depression
24. The Reward System—Anatomy
25. The Reward System—Drugs
26. Brain Plasticity
27. Emotion and Executive Function
28. Processing of Negative Emotions—Fear
29. Music and the Brain
30. Sexual Dimorphism of the Brain
31. Sleep and Dreaming
32. Consciousness and the Self
33. Alzheimer's Disease
34. Risk Factors for Alzheimer's Disease
35. Wellness and the Brain—Effects of Stress
36. Neuroscience—Looking Back and Looking Ahead

Order Today!
Offer expires Thursday, September 30, 2010

Understanding the Brain
Course No. 1580
36 lectures (30 minutes/lecture)

DVDs ~~$374.95~~ NOW $99.95

+ $15 Shipping, Processing, and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee

Priority Code: 47570

ACT NOW!

1-800-TEACH-12

www.TEACH12.com/5wks

THE TEACHING COMPANY®

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the weekly Standard

Recovery November —and Beyond

This year's election looks to be a repeat of 1994. The GOP is likely once again to win 50-plus House seats and thereby take control of that chamber. Republicans are on track to pick up something like the 8 Senate seats they won in 1994—if they fail to win control of the Senate, it will only be because they begin from such a low level (there are 41 GOP senators today, as compared with 44 in 1994). Indeed, we wouldn't be surprised if the wave of November 2010 were even bigger than that of 1994.

So the historical pattern seems clear: An exhausted Bush administration ends in disarray. It's followed by a young Democratic president who enters office as the bearer of liberal hopes and dreams. He has the support of comfortable congressional majorities. In short order, though, liberalism loses public support, conservatism shows why it's the comeback kid of contemporary American politics, and Republicans get another chance.

And then? Are Republicans condemned to relive the disappointments of 1995-1996? No.

When the GOP took over in January 1995, Clinton was unpopular, but the country wasn't in such bad shape. Unemployment was 5.6 percent, down over a percentage point in the previous year, during which GDP growth had been over 4 percent. The deficit was at about $200 billion and falling. And we were at peace.

Which meant that, by 1996, if Bill Clinton triangulated to the middle and allowed Republicans to overplay their hand, the conditions were in place for Clinton to run for reelection as a peace and prosperity president. GOP revolutionary fervor could be portrayed as off-putting, if not dangerous. Gingrich's great accomplishment in 1994 had been in convincing the Perot voters of 1992 to return to a newly activist and reformist Republican party. But by 1996 Perotista sentiment was waning. Clinton had abandoned his health care plans and proclaimed the era of big government over. And the Republican nominee, Bob Dole, could be portrayed as the worst of both worlds—at once an embodiment of scary 1995 GOP congressional overreach and of the tired old GOP status quo (he had, after all, been Gerald Ford's vice-presidential nominee).

Today, Obama's "Recovery Summer" is a joke. The economy isn't improving, the deficit is gargantuan, and economic circumstances are much scarier than in 1994. Because the economy is in such bad shape congressional Republicans will (paradoxically) have much more running room. They don't have to do everything all at once. If they can simply check Obama, that will be a big initial accomplishment.

A House measure repealing Obamacare may be blocked in the Senate or vetoed by the president, but House Republicans can still defund its implementation. The new congressional majority can also bury cap and trade, end stimuli and bailouts, reduce domestic discretionary spending, and stop tax increases. All of that would be a winning first act.

Republicans will of course also have to be working on and testing some of the elements of a GOP agenda that fundamentally reforms and relimits the federal government. But stopping the bleeding comes first. This means the Republicans of 2011, compared with those of 1995, can be both less frantic about getting everything done in the first 100 days, and more resolute in seeing to it that by mid-2012 they have laid the groundwork for a serious and bold governing agenda for their presidential nominee.

Similarly, trying to ensure that Obama doesn't fritter away success in Iraq, doesn't undercut his own surge in Afghanistan, and doesn't allow Iran to get nuclear weapons is already a hefty foreign policy agenda. In these cases all the GOP will be trying to do is to hold the president to his own statements of what core American interests are. Congressional Republicans can focus next year on this genuinely important task, and wait till 2012 to fully develop a neo-Reaganite national security strategy of their own.

Republicans have other advantages this time around. Obama will find it harder to pivot to the center than Clinton—who had, after all, run as a centrist in 1992. Clinton also had the great advantage that his health care proposal hadn't passed, and therefore could be jettisoned after the midterm election. Obama is stuck with Obamacare. And the potential GOP presidential field is more interesting and promising than that of 1996.

Today's Republicans have one more advantage: They

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can learn the lessons from what happened in 1995 and 1996. The main one: Victory in 2010 has to be the prelude to victory in 2012. The first 100 days of a new Republican House or Congress—fun though they will be!—matter less than ensuring that the next two years are the last 100 weeks of the Obama presidency. If over these 100 weeks, Republican leaders and conservative activists act with both patience and boldness, with prudence and vision, if they can balance the Tea Party spirit of Tom Paine and the governing wisdom of Edmund Burke (why not?—they both, after all, supported the American revolution), then the recovery of 2010 could be the prelude to a victory in 2012 that would fundamentally change the nation's course for the better.

—William Kristol

The Tax Showdown

Congress returns to Washington this week, just in time for a fight over the future of the 2001 and 2003 tax cuts. Those cuts are scheduled to expire on January 1, leading to increased taxes on estates, dividends, capital gains, and incomes. President Obama wants to maintain current tax rates for households making under $250,000 a year, while Republicans (and more than a few Democrats) want to extend current tax rates for everybody, at least through 2012. Pop quiz: Which plan makes the most economic and political sense?

The answer is . . . extending current tax rates for another two years. We can't think of a worse time to increase taxes. Private-sector job creation is tepid. Companies are hoarding cash. The economy may be on the brink of a double-dip recession. In this economic climate, any sort of tax increase is a bad idea. Even Obama acknowledges that low taxes bolster incentives to work and invest and hire. Why else would he support measures like making permanent the research and development tax credit and allowing full depreciation for business investment in 2011?

Obama says he's against extending tax rates for the "wealthiest 2 percent of Americans" because the country can't afford the lost revenue. That's rich. A two-year extension isn't permanent, and even a 10-year extension would add no more to the deficit than the president's stimulus bill added in a single year. Excuse us if we decline to take lessons on fiscal responsibility from a man who's presided over by far the largest deficits in postwar American history and whose budgets forecast red ink as far as the eye can see. If Obama were so very serious about fiscal austerity, he'd be against extending all of the 2001 and 2003 tax cuts, not just those cuts that affect the rich.

Obama says that keeping taxes low for households making more than $250,000 a year wouldn't have a positive effect, because such households are filled with "folks who are less likely to spend the money." This is Obamanomics 101, in which economic activity is driven by spending at the lower end of the income distribution. The best tax cuts, in this view, give poor people additional money to spend on consumer goods, thereby increasing aggregate demand. It's an attractive idea, especially to liberals, but it's also been tried and failed. According to Recovery.gov, the stimulus bill contained about $288 billion in "tax cuts"—actually rebates in payroll taxes spread over several months—for "millions of working families and businesses."

What the working families and businesses did with the extra dough is well known. They pocketed it. They used the money to pay down debt. They hedged against future uncertainty. So, even if you accept the president's logic, the fact is consumers won't start spending enough until they are confident about the future. And they won't be confident about the future until they see government policies that are predictable, consistent, and in line with the entrepreneurial, high-risk spirit of America. Policies which are not forthcoming from the Obama White House.

The president also said last week that households making more than $250,000 don't deserve a tax extension, because "these are just about the only folks who saw their incomes rise when Republicans were in charge." It's a situation Obama wants to rectify, regardless of the consequences. He's more committed to a particular theory of social justice than he is to growth and full employment. He's spent his presidency redistributing money from those at the top—and from those who haven't been born—to others below.

The stimulus borrowed from the future to pay for today's education, health, and welfare. The Obama budget flatlines defense, while social spending continues to increase. The health care bill imposes taxes, fees, and regulations on the wealthy in order to finance health care for the uninsured. The unemployment rate, meanwhile, has been above 9 percent for 16 months and counting. Has there ever been a more egregious case of misplaced priorities?

The good news is that the political case for extending current tax rates is as solid as the economic case. Campaigning for the extension would put Republicans on the offensive and cleave the Democrats in two. It would demonstrate to the public that a center-right coalition has a reasonable short-term agenda. Perhaps most important, it would open a window for creative thinking about fundamental tax reform, about designing a tax code that levies the lowest possible rate across the largest possible base.

Conservatives and Republicans: Roll up your sleeves. Grit your teeth. The great tax rumble of 2010 is about to start. It's a fight you can win.

—Matthew Continetti

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John Boehner's Sudden Fame

Thanks, Mr. President, for that kind introduction. BY FRED BARNES

GARY LOOKE

President Obama has fallen into the John Boehner trap. By attacking Boehner last week—emphatically, repeatedly, and by name—the president made himself look desperate. And by treating Boehner as practically an equal, Obama elevated him. Boehner was delighted. Obama had helped him fill the leadership void among Republicans. For the president, that's a negative twofer.

Obama has only himself to blame, since Boehner, the House Republican leader, didn't knowingly set a trap. In criticizing Obama's economic record in a speech in August and recommending a new policy, Boehner was pursuing his own blueprint for an increased public role in the weeks before the midterm elections. Now that he and Obama are irretrievably paired, Boehner will be a bigger and more visible presence than he had imagined.

Thanks to the president, Boehner has become the one Republican to whom the media must pay serious attention. When Obama speaks, reporters will turn to Boehner for reaction. When Boehner holds forth, the media will ask the White House to respond. This back-and-forth is not good for Obama. Presidents are at their best—their most authoritative, influential, and respected—when they transcend partisan politics. But far from rising above the bedlam of the campaign, Obama is wallowing in it. While it's normal for presidents to take part in midterm elections, it's important they do it the right way. If they sound like a TV attack ad, as Obama often has, they're at their least effective.

For the Obama White House, the targeting of Boehner was a major operation. The location for Obama's attack—Cleveland—was selected because that's where Boehner had given his speech, two weeks earlier, urging the president to stop his "job killing" policies. The day before the president spoke, the White House put out the word that Obama would be going after Boehner the next day. In his speech, he aimed what *Politico* derisively referred to as "eight shout-outs" at Boehner.

A word comes to mind about the Boehner gambit—unpresidential. Karl Rove, President Bush's political adviser, offered four words—"nutty, demeaning, useless, ill-conceived." So far as I know, a premeditated assault by a president on the leader of the opposition (minority) party in the House is unprecedented. Would Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton, or any other president even have considered such a tactic? I suspect not.

Nor is it likely to work. Obama's point was that the country would be worse off with Republicans like Boehner in charge of Congress. Republicans adopted a similar message in 2006. Only the name was different. Then it was Nancy Pelosi, accompanied by a group of liberal committee chairmen. "It didn't help us," says Representative Kevin McCarthy, the deputy Republican whip in the House. Democrats captured the House and Senate.

And there's a perfectly sensible reason the tactic failed. In 2006, Republicans—their conduct and their policies—were the sole issue. Yes, voters should have cared about who might replace Republicans, but they didn't.

Fred Barnes is executive editor of THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"People didn't know who Nancy Pelosi was," says McCarthy, and they couldn't be bothered to find out.

Today it's Boehner who's less than a household name. Obama and Democrats are the issue. A recent poll found that only half the public had heard of Boehner, and only half of those who had heard of him had an opinion of him. The attempt to turn him into a big-time villain isn't likely to be a game changer in an election seven weeks off.

Besides, the whole thing is contrived and looks like it was seized upon solely because the campaign is going so poorly for Democrats and nothing else has worked. Suddenly, out of the blue, Obama declares Boehner the problem, a person who should strike fear in the hearts of average Americans. What the demonization of Boehner indicates, among other things, is that blaming President George W. Bush has lost whatever potency it had. Boehner is the new nemesis.

Boehner was surprised by the attack but, oddly enough, was prepared for it. Months ago, he decided to postpone announcement of a Republican alternative to Obama's policies. Nobody was listening, he figured, the press included. Instead, he put McCarthy in charge of a website, Americaspeakingout.com, to collect and sift the views of Americans. It will be the basis for a campaign document—a Republican agenda of sorts—to be issued late in September.

In the meantime, Boehner's plan was always to move front and center gradually over the summer, and he has. He's delivered three policy speeches: on abortion to the Right to Life convention in late June, on economic policy to the City Club of Cleveland on August 24, and on foreign policy to the American Legion on August 31. Only the economic speech got much coverage. By responding, Obama magnified the speech's significance as well as Boehner's.

So Boehner was expecting more media attention once the campaign picked up speed after Labor Day. Then Obama intervened. Boehner "saw the moment," says Representative Paul Ryan of Wisconsin. "He said, 'All right, the focus is coming to us. I've got to step up and give us some definition.'"

Boehner is more formidable than Obama probably thinks. He benefits from his experience when Republicans controlled the House after the 1994 Republican landslide. He learned two lessons, according to Ryan: not to make a promise you can't keep and not to allow "the majority to atrophy." Republicans lost their majority when "incumbent protection and an earmark culture" became an obsession, Ryan says, and Boehner was "singed by his experience." If Boehner becomes House speaker, that won't happen again, Ryan insists.

The Boehner trap is closing around Obama. When the president was interviewed by George Stephanopoulos of ABC News the day he went after Boehner, the first question was about Boehner's proposal to extend all the Bush tax cuts for two years and cut spending to 2008 levels. Would the president compromise on the tax cuts? Would he veto a bill extending them? Obama equivocated. He defended his desire to extend the tax cuts to everyone but the rich, was vague about whether he'd compromise on taxes, and ignored the question about spending. Obama was trapped into discussing Boehner's agenda. ♦

The Forecast for November

Bright and sunny for the GOP. BY JAY COST

The outlook for Republicans in November is very good—at least as favorable as in 1994, and possibly more so than at any point since 1928. Several factors account for the positive environment.

First and most obviously, the economy helps the Republicans. American voters have been booting incumbent parties that cannot produce economic growth since Martin Van Buren's Democrats lost to the Whig party in 1840. Not only has the unemployment rate remained unacceptably high this year, the slowing of GDP growth has robbed the Democrats of the argument that the country is at least moving in the right direction.

Adding to the Democrats' woes is the unpopularity of the Obama administration. The president's net job approval is now negative, with more Americans disapproving than approving of his performance. President Obama has certainly "earned" this poor approval, thanks to three significant, unforced errors. First, his economic stimulus fell far short of expectations because he underestimated the depth of the recession and overestimated the effectiveness of the pork-laden stimulus bill that Congress passed. Second, he has wantonly inflated and made no serious effort to reduce the budget deficit, now an acute concern for many Americans. Third, he passed a health care bill that was and remains highly unpopular.

Any one of these issues would give Republicans a decided advantage this year. The combination of all three creates the kind of electoral environment not seen since 1974, when Democrats annihilated Republicans because of Watergate and recession.

Finally, Democrats face the added burden of an inefficiently distributed base of voters. The Democratic base consists mostly of union workers, upscale urban liberals, and minority voters, many of whom are clustered in highly Democratic districts. While Democrats have a congressio-

Jay Cost is a staff writer at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nal majority in many other districts nationwide, it depends upon independents and soft partisans, the sorts of voters who split their tickets. These voters have bolted the Obama coalition in droves, leaving scores of Democratic incumbents in jeopardy.

THE HOUSE

Republicans now enjoy a lead of about 7 points in the RealClearPolitics average of the generic ballot, which asks voters if they prefer the Democratic or Republican candidate in their House district. These kinds of numbers are without precedent. Even in 1994, the generic ballot was showing just a small Republican lead at this point in the cycle. Polling consistently suggests that the Republicans have a commanding lead among independents, who supported Democrats in 2006 and 2008. If Republicans can hold independents through November, and there is no reason to think they cannot, they should win control of the House.

It's worth noting that the generic ballot average at RealClearPolitics consists mostly of registered-voter samples, in which Democrats tend to be overrepresented. The three most recent generic ballot tests of likely voters—from Rasmussen, ABC News/*Washington Post*, and Democracy Corps—all show Republican leads of 7 points or greater. Polling has consistently shown a marked enthusiasm gap, with Republicans much more eager to vote than Democrats, but this gap has yet to be factored into the registered-voter generic ballots. When more firms start polling likely voters, the Republican lead in the polling average should grow.

In 1994, the GOP won the House vote by 7 points and picked up 52 seats. The evidence this year points to an even better result. Still, important questions remain, most notably whether the Democrats will be able to rally their base and narrow the enthusiasm gap. That would not be sufficient for the Democrats to hold the House, but it might prevent the kind of once-in-a-generation blowout last seen in 1974.

Expect Republican gains to be the biggest in the Midwest, with the party doing particularly well in Ohio and Pennsylvania. Also, expect a solid rebound in upstate New York, as well as a potential sweep in New Hampshire, which should quiet the obnoxious "Death of Northeastern Republicanism" meme. The GOP might even take a House seat in Massachusetts, which would be the party's first in the Bay State since 1994. Gains in the West will be fewer, although look for symbolic pickups in Arizona as voters punish the Democrats for Obama's assault on the state's new immigration law. Republicans should also pick up a fair number of southern seats, especially in Florida. However, because the party's southern flank generally held the line against the Democrats in 2006 and 2008, there are fewer potential pickups in the South.

There are relatively few Democratic Senate seats up for grabs this year, and the seats that are stayed Democratic even in 2004, a poor year for the party. This limits the Republican opportunity to acquire control of the upper chamber.

The Betting Line: GOP gain of 57 seats

THE SENATE

Since popular elections for the Senate were mandated by the 17th Amendment, there has been an unbroken historical pattern: When the House flips, the Senate flips, too. This could be the year that does not happen.

Senate seats are assigned to one of three classes, with each class standing for election every six years. The current class last stood for election in 2004, which was a good year for the Republicans. Thus, there are relatively few Democratic seats up for grabs this year, and the seats that are up stayed Democratic even in 2004, a poor year for the party. This limits the Republican opportunity to acquire control of the Senate.

So, too, does the nomination of weak candidates in Illinois and Nevada. Lisa Murkowski, the Republican incumbent in Alaska recently defeated in the primary, may wage a write-in campaign that could split the Republican vote. Charlie Crist, a former Republican rejected by his party, threatens to split the GOP in Florida. Finally, a Tea Party-backed candidate in Delaware threatens to derail the candidacy of Mike Castle, a moderate Republican who should otherwise easily win the seat in that Democratic-leaning state.

Still, Republicans have advantages. The party is all but guaranteed to pick up seats in Arkansas, Indiana, and North Dakota. What's more, a pick up in Pennsylvania looks increasingly likely. The Democratic nominee in Illinois, Alexi Giannoulias, is just as weak as Republican Mark Kirk. Michael Bennet, the incumbent Democrat in Colorado, looks quite vulnerable, as do Barbara Boxer in California, Patty Murray in Washington, and Russ Feingold in Wisconsin. All of these seats are toss-ups at the moment. The Republicans stand a fair chance of winning the open seat in Connecticut, where the Democrats have nominated a surprisingly weak candidate in Attorney General Richard Blumenthal. The GOP also has an opportunity in West Virginia, where the popular Democratic governor Joe Manchin must contend with voters who strongly disapprove of President Obama. Blumenthal and Manchin are both facing rich Republican challengers who can fund their own campaigns. What's more, in a year when the macro forces are as pro-Republican as they are, seemingly safe Democrats like Ron Wyden of Oregon and Kirsten Gillibrand of New York may end up in jeopardy.

The Senate outlook is extremely

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hazy. The next four weeks should clarify matters considerably.

The Betting Line: GOP gain of 8 seats

THE STATES

State political battles typically follow the national mood. This year appears to be no exception. Republicans look well positioned to win the governor's mansion in Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Ohio, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania. Other Democratic-held governor seats are vulnerable: Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Mexico, Oregon, and Wisconsin. Democrats could cut their losses by taking Connecticut, Hawaii, and Minnesota—all of which currently look to be Democratic pick-ups. The Democrats also have good odds of winning toss-up races in California, Florida, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

As for the state legislatures, Republicans should do well there, also. By the end of 1994, Republicans controlled the state senate in 25 states and the state house in 24 states. It's reasonable to expect slightly better results this year.

In the short run, gains in the states will not influence national politics, but they will aid the Republican party's long-term prospects. Four of the last eight presidents had been governors, and a new crop of state executives will only increase the chances of strong Republican presidential contenders in 2016 and 2020. Victories in state houses are also critical this cycle because of the upcoming House redistricting battle.

The Betting Line: GOP pickups of 9 governorships, 6 state senates, and 9 state houses

These estimates are based upon the best data available Labor Day week. In cycles such as this, when the incumbent party stands to do very poorly, it is often the case that its position deteriorates further between Labor Day and Election Day. Thus, if these estimates are revised before November, it is much more likely that they will point to larger Republican gains than smaller ones. ♦

The Privileged Public Sector

Mommas, don't let your babies grow up to be anything but civil servants. BY ANDREW FERGUSON

'Be happy in your work," Col. Saito advised his prisoners in *Bridge Over the River Kwai*, and it seems that employees of the federal government are taking the adage to heart. The *Washington Post*—which, having shed many other functions of a news-gathering organization, nevertheless maintains its role as cheerleader for the hometown's number one industry—reported the other day that government workers are getting happier by the week.

In one way, the news isn't surprising. Americans like their jobs, as a rule. For the last 20 years the Gallup organization has polled the public about job satisfaction, and the percentage of Americans who were "completely satisfied" or "somewhat satisfied" has never fallen below 80 percent and usually bumps up against 90. "Completely dissatisfied" has never risen above 4 percent. While government employees have lagged private workers in job satisfaction, the gap is narrowing, according to survey data from the Office of Personnel Management. Spirits are evidently rising under President Obama, himself a good friend of public-employee unions and a great defender of government in general. Indeed, the percentage of working Americans who say they "like the work they do" is now the same in government as out.

This, said the *Post*, is "an encouraging sign as the government continues to woo applicants for hundreds of thousands of new positions." Satisfaction among federal workers increased in nearly every area of the government, from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to the Department of Transportation. Only sectors that have been publicly humiliated over the last couple years—for example, the SEC and the "intelligence community"—saw a decline in the satisfaction numbers. Typical, instead, was the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, where morale surged: The agency, said the *Post*, "was buoyed by its central role in the recent economic downturn after years of low morale. It took third spot among large agencies as it managed 140 bank failures in 2009." Nothing like a surge in bank failures to brighten a government worker's day.

Should we begrudge our government workers these glimmers of professional contentment? Lots of people think so. "Compensation reform," a freshly minted phrase that must chill the bones of anyone in the federal government, is now a popular topic among conservative policy wonks. Government pay has become a hot topic among supposedly skinflint Republican legislators, who have begun calling for hiring and pay freezes as a help in balancing the federal budget. This led Jonathan Cohn of the *New Republic* to call government workers "the new welfare queens"—the new scapegoats, he meant, of Republican electioneering and antigovernment demagoguery. And it does seem to work. Scott Brown made the size and pay scale of the federal government an issue in his upset victory in Massachusetts this January. "Americans are fed up with public employee pay scales far exceeding that in the private sector," says Rep. Eric Cantor, the House Republican whip.

Andrew Ferguson is a senior editor at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cantor's statement served as decoration for a *USA Today* story last month. "Federal employees' average compensation," the article reported, "has grown to more than double what private sector workers earn." The figures from an analysis by the newspaper's Dennis Cauchon were jaw-dropping. Over the last decade, the average federal salary has risen 33 percent faster than the inflation rate. When total compensation is measured—salary plus benefits like health insurance and pension guarantees—government workers have seen an increase of more than 36 percent, adjusted for inflation. Over the same period, private workers got an 8.8 percent increase. The result: Average private sector compensation is $61,051; the average federal compensation is $129,049.

The *USA Today* figures, and others making a similar point got up by conservative and libertarian think tanks, have been widely attacked by friends of government, and from here the battle descends into the trenches of pure wonk warfare, calculator-to-calculator, the bloody earth littered with one dismembered regression analysis after another. The defense of "apples and oranges" is often invoked: Government jobs, say union economists, have no exact analogue in the private sector, and so "a direct public/private pay comparison" is impossible.

When *USA Today* did make such a job-to-job comparison, however, the private workers nearly always came up short. With a few exceptions—lawyers, optometrists, airline pilots, paralegals—someone who chooses to work in government will wind up better off than if he'd sought private employment. Only 36 of more than 200 job titles offered higher average salaries in the private sector.

President Obama's former budget chief, Peter Orszag, acknowledged the apparent pay advantage, or pay premium, enjoyed by the feds. But he said the difference was inflated by the workers' average education and skill levels, which are higher in the federal government than in the private labor force. So the conservative economists Andrew Biggs and Jason Richwine ran the numbers again, controlling for the higher educational attainment and skill level of federal employees. They discovered that federal workers still received a premium of 24 percent over similarly trained private workers.

Others have argued that the difference between pay scales has been inflated by age and seniority: The federal workforce is older than the private workforce, and the average government worker has longer tenure in his job, and thus receives higher pay. Biggs and Richwine controlled for these factors too, as well as "race and gender, full- or part-time work, firm size, marital status," and so on. The pay premium then stood at 12 percent, with no chance of falling further. As they pithily put it: "Private employees must work 13.5 months to earn what a comparable federal worker makes in 12."

The arguments, all on their own,

Aerospace Makes Jobs and Exports Soar

By Thomas J. Donohue
President and CEO
U.S. Chamber of Commerce

For the naysayers who argue that American manufacturing is dead (it's not!), let me suggest that they take a look at what's happening in the aerospace industry. Despite the recent economic downturn, aerospace achieved $215 billion in sales last year, all while providing more than 644,000 good-paying jobs.

This critical industry—which is essential to national defense, transportation, and technological innovation—is also a leader when it comes to exports. In 2009, American aerospace companies enjoyed a trade surplus of $56 billion. In the spirit of National Aerospace Week, let me share what the U.S. Chamber is doing to help the aerospace industry—and the broader economy—expand and create the jobs that will get Americans back to work.

First, we support the modernization of aviation infrastructure, which received a "D" on a report card issued by the American Society of Civil Engineers (ASCE). Over the next five years, ASCE projects that aviation infrastructure will suffer from a $40 billion funding shortfall. This is unacceptable. We need to improve airports and air traffic control systems today. The Chamber's Let's Rebuild America initiative is leading the charge for adequate infrastructure funding and will continue to address this issue in the next Congress.

Second, the Chamber believes that Congress should reauthorize the programs under the Federal Aviation Administration. Any such legislation should expedite air traffic control modernization (known as NextGen), provide research and technology funding targeted to projects that increase national aviation system capacity and safety, and ensure continued air service to communities nationwide.

Third, we are advocating for an expansion of international trade, which would benefit the aerospace industry and the broader economy by opening up new markets to American goods and services. This must include the modernization and reform of U.S. export controls—which the Obama administration has begun to pursue. We welcome efforts to create an export controls regime appropriate to America's national security needs, one that facilitates rather than hinders R&D and trade activities critical to the continued health and international superiority of our aerospace and defense industry.

Finally, the Chamber will continue to lead the fight against any Buy American mandates in federal legislation that would invite retaliation from our trading partners, hurting the aerospace industry and the workers it employs.

By following these policy prescriptions, elected officials can ensure that American aerospace companies will continue to deliver cutting-edge breakthroughs and jobs, both of which are needed to get our economy back on track.

U.S. Chamber of Commerce Comment at www.chamberpost.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are revealing. The educational attainment of federal employees is higher in part because government has a built in ladder of incentives—subsidies, bonuses, and salary increases—designed to encourage workers into further education; this education is of course financed by taxpayers who are making less, on average, than the worker whose extra education they're subsidizing. Most private businesses would love to offer their employees such a ladder—if they could afford it.

Moreover, the very long tenure of federal employees, which puts upward pressure on the pay scale, is by itself a testament to the government's relatively lavish compensation and comfy work rules. Turnover in the federal workforce is infinitesimal. The "quit rate" in private industry last year was 19.1 percent—that is, one out of five private employees quit his job in 2009. In the federal government the quit rate was 2.3—that is, hardly anybody leaves Club Fed until they retire.

It is odd and unsettling when an employer, in this case the public, makes less money than his employee, the federal bureaucrat; if nothing else we can feel free to retire the phrase "public service" once and for all.

Even so, we shouldn't forget the demagoguery in the Republican campaign against federal pay, especially when it's waged on grounds of frugality and budget discipline. While not quite as negligible as foreign aid and "earmarks"—two other targets of the phony deficit hawk—the federal payroll amounts to much less than 10 percent of the government's budget, and firing every federal worker tomorrow would still leave a deficit next year of roughly $1 trillion, except nobody would be around to count it.

There's an irony to go along with the demagoguery. One reason the difference between federal and private pay widened at an accelerated pace in the last decade was the Bush administration's decision to contract out many lower-paying government functions to private business. With fewer low salaries, the average federal salary rose. Another reason was the administration's vast expansion of antiterror activities, giving the federal government an insatiable appetite for college graduates—raising the average federal salary again. The federal pay premium is in part a consequence of privatization and a strong national defense.

If the issue of federal pay does take off, surely somebody, somewhere, sooner or later, will make the obvious point. Republican politicians were in charge of the entire federal workforce when compensation went into the stratosphere and federal employees began living a life beyond the reach of the average citizens who pay their salaries. Eric Cantor will want to explain that to all those "fed-up Americans." ♦

First, Stop Obama's Madness

A two-step plan for the future majority party.

BY YUVAL LEVIN

Democrats in Washington, confronting a mammoth tidal wave of angry voters as November approaches, are desperate to change the subject. They know there is little they can say about themselves or their record of governing over the past two years that would not worsen their prospects, so they naturally want to talk about Republicans instead. But they seem uncertain whether the problem with Republicans is that they want to do too little or too much.

On the one hand, Democratic leaders argue that Republicans are the "party of no," and lack any ideas to help get the economy moving again. On the other hand, the same Democrats insist that Republicans have concocted a multitude of painful cuts in benefits and services and are working, as President Obama said last month, "to make privatizing Social Security a key part of their legislative agenda if they win a majority in Congress this fall." So is there a Republican agenda or isn't there?

To be fair, the Republicans don't always seem too sure either. They know voters want a break from two years of too much spending, too much borrowing, too much bailing out, and too much growth in government. There is a lot to be said for just offering to put a stop to it all. At the same time, though, Republicans are drawn to the successful model of 1994's Contract With America. They think it might be irresponsible to run without a detailed agenda, and they know that while the government has grown too much, the economy has grown too little—so that some pro-growth policy proposals are surely called for. Thus some Republicans (most notably Paul Ryan, with his bold Roadmap for America's Future) have sought to talk about entitlement reform and budget priorities in some detail, while others have sought to say little lest they give the Democrats a target.

But in fact, Republicans do not face a choice between putting the brakes on the Obama agenda and pursuing their own new course. Rather, the moment calls for doing one and then the other. The country finds itself in a deep hole, and Republicans should offer voters a two-step agenda for recovery: first stop digging, then climb out.

To stop digging the hole, Republicans must arrest the march toward

Yuval Levin is the editor of National Affairs *and the Hertog fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

social democracy and its attendant march toward bankruptcy. That means not only saying no to further leftward leaps—like cap and trade legislation, and a value-added tax piled atop our existing income-tax system—but also restoring some predictability where the Democrats' hyperactive liberalism has created a crushing sense of uncertainty that has kept employers from hiring and investors and consumers from spending.

Democrats, as the president's chief of staff Rahm Emanuel explained in 2008, have sought to use the ongoing economic crisis to achieve all kinds of unrelated goals: health care policy they have craved for decades, environmental policy that has little to do with the economy, more protections for unions, a greater role for government in the financial and automotive sectors, and on and on. In the process, they have made the actual economic crisis worse by making it difficult for consumers, producers, employers, and investors to plan ahead.

Such unpredictability has always made for terrible public policy. As James Madison put it in *Federalist* 62, "What prudent merchant will hazard his fortunes in any new branch of commerce when he knows not but that his plans may be rendered unlawful before they can be executed? What farmer or manufacturer will lay himself out for the encouragement given to any particular cultivation or establishment, when he can have no assurance that his preparatory labors and advances will not render him a victim to an inconstant government?" The sheer inconstancy of public policy these past two years, as well as its hostility to economic freedom, have contributed mightily to our economic troubles, and left consumers sitting on cash they are wary of spending and investors keeping their powder dry.

To begin with, then, Republicans should offer the public a break. That means pledging to oppose new spending and taxes, and it means addressing the two greatest policy sources of uncertainty: the Democrats' health care legislation (which has left families uncertain about whether they can keep their insurance and businesses unsure of future expenses) and the prospect of tax hikes as the Bush tax cuts expire. Republicans should pledge to repeal Obamacare and to retain all of the Bush tax cuts. More broadly, they should commit to resisting any new onerous regulations, taxes, and intrusive expansions of government and to work to remove such burdens where possible. House Republican leader John Boehner took the first steps in that direction this week, pledging to resist new taxes and to roll back spending to pre-crisis levels. Republicans should make the premise of such policies explicit—proposing a two-year break from Washington's hyperactivity.

Republicans do not face a choice between putting the brakes on the Obama agenda and pursuing their own new course. Rather, the moment calls for doing one and then the other. The country finds itself in a deep hole, and Republicans should offer voters a two-step agenda for recovery: first stop digging, then climb out.

Such a break, as a beginning and an organizing principle for the first stage of a Republican agenda, would be good policy and good politics. It would allow investors and employers to plan ahead, and so to begin spending and hiring. It would provide the larger public greater calm in a difficult economic time. It would make it more difficult for Democrats to use a lame duck session of Congress to implement radical plans (and indeed, Republicans should commit to retroactively repeal any legislation passed in the lame duck session other than essential budget bills). And it would be a realistic offer to voters: After all, Republicans can't run the government from the House of Representatives, or even from the House and a narrowly Republican Senate. They can act as a brake, but as long as President Obama remains in office they cannot really steer much.

Once some stability has been restored and the economy begins to show signs of life again, Republicans can turn to the second stage of a recovery agenda: climbing out of the hole by cultivating the necessary preconditions for vigorous economic growth. This would include easing the tax burdens on families and corporations to spur growth; reforming our entitlement system (through modest means testing and the gradual transformation of defined-benefit programs into defined-contribution programs) to make it both more rational and more sustainable in the long term; advancing genuine health care reform that would actually control costs by using market mechanisms; replacing the government-sponsored enterprises (like Fannie and Freddie) and reckless housing policies that helped spark the economic crisis; ending corporate welfare; reforming the federal budget process to improve its transparency and eliminate some opportunities for waste and corruption; and bringing federal spending and borrowing under control to avert a disastrous currency crisis.

The first stage of such an agenda—ceasing to do harm—will necessarily take up much of the next two years. And it is the essential precondition for the longer-term agenda (which most likely can begin in earnest only in 2012) of turning America back toward liberty, growth, and prosperity.

Republicans addressing an angry public this election season must be honest and humble. There is much they can do to help the country confront the awesome challenges we face, but it cannot all be done at once. First, they must keep Washington from making matters worse. Then, guided by a properly focused and limited sense of the government's purpose, they must work to restore and sustain America's strength. ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The vast majority of Tea Partiers are probably also conservative on social issues.

A Big Tent on the Right

The multiplier effect of adding Tea Partiers to social conservatives. BY JEFFREY BELL

What will historians 50 years from now see as the most important development in American politics of the past 40 years—the period roughly encompassing the years 1970 to 2010? I believe it is the rise of two movements that between them are likely to alter the balance of political power in this country: the social conservative movement, which by most estimates began in the 1970s, and the Tea Party movement, which we can date very precisely as having begun on February 19, 2009. That was the day a business reporter named Rick Santelli delivered, rather suddenly and to the naked eye without much preparation, a jeremiad on the CNBC cable network against the Obama administration's proposed bailout for delinquent home mortgages.

Santelli, speaking live before trading hours on the floor of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, called for the convening of a "tea party," which he said should be occupied, among other things, with "dumping in some derivative securities" into Lake Michigan. Santelli said nothing about a national movement, but within a few hours a video of his rant had been posted on the Drudge Report, become viral on YouTube, and Tea Parties were being announced, many with specific future dates, all over the country.

A scant year and a half later, the Tea Party movement has a real and very consequential existence, as I believe outgoing senators Robert Bennett of Utah and Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, among many others, would readily acknowledge.

But why couple the Tea Party with social conservatism? After all, the two movements are concerned with very different issue clusters—the social conservatives with issues like abortion, same-sex marriage, and the role (if any) of God in the public square, while the Tea Party is intensely engaged on economic issues, with a particular concentration on the federal spending programs they associate with the term "big government." Some political analysts, including more than a few conservatives, have even argued that one of the consequences of the rise of the Tea Party will be the marginalization if not outright eclipse of social conservatism.

Different as these issue sets are, it would be a mistake to assume a lack of ideological overlap between the two memberships. In fact, the (so far) very limited polling that has looked at the two movements in the 18 months since the rise of the Tea Party raises the possibility—I would even say the probability—that the vast majority of social conservative voters are sympathetic to the Tea Party, and that the vast majority of those who consider themselves in the Tea Party are in fact conservative on social issues. Underlining this probability is the fact that of the political candidates catapulted to prominence by the Tea Party—newly famous folks like Joe Miller of Alaska, Mike Lee of Utah, and Ken Buck of Colorado—all, to the best of my knowledge, campaigned as social as well as economic conservatives.

But if social and Tea Party conservatives turn out to be mostly the same people, what's the big deal? How can a rise in intensity among millions of voters on economic issues be portrayed as a big net plus for Republicans, if so

Jeffrey Bell is policy director of the American Principles Project, a Washington advocacy group, and author of Populism and Elitism: Politics in the Age of Equality. *This article is adapted from a talk given at the annual convention of the American Political Science Association.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many of the newly activated people were already conservative voters on other grounds? Put another way: Absent the rise of the Tea Party, how many voters among its ranks would be open to reelecting Barack Obama in 2012? I believe the correct answer is: More than you might think.

For many decades on the left end of elective politics, voters have been predictably liberal on both social and economic issues. If a voter is open to changing the law to permit same-sex marriage, there is a high probability he or she is opposed to the kind of deep cuts in federal income tax rates favored by supply-siders. On the surface the two issues are unrelated, but, rightly or wrongly, many voters on the left see the two issues as part of the same larger argument.

Perhaps because American conservatism is a considerably newer movement than American liberalism, this has been less true of right-of-center voters. Social conservatives have not always felt the need to rally to the support of economic conservatives, for example. As a result, conservatives have come together more or less depending on the salience of different issue clusters in different election cycles. Let me give two examples.

The election cycles of 1988 and 2004 are the most recent in which social issues had a significant pro-Republican impact on a presidential election, electing George H.W. Bush and reelecting his son. (They also happen to be the only two elections of the last six in which Republicans carried the popular vote for president.) We can all argue the extent to which social issues turned those two elections, but my guess is that few Democratic strategists, if they had it to do over again, would advise Governor Michael Dukakis to defend the law that furloughed Willie Horton to commit a rape in Maryland, or would advise the governor to defend his veto of a bill that would have required the Pledge of Allegiance with its phrase "under God" to be said in his state's public schools.

Even fewer, I believe, would have encouraged the nationwide movement for same-sex marriage to time a successful court fight in Massachusetts in a manner that triggered 11 state referenda in a presidential year, including one in pivotal Ohio. My guess is that, not just subsequently but at the time, these hypothetical Democratic strategists would not have advised John Kerry to say with visible irritation to CBS's Bob Schieffer in the final presidential debate the following words about Mary Cheney, whose name he did not mention: "We're all God's children, Bob. And if you were to talk to Dick Cheney's daughter, who is a lesbian, she would tell you that she's being who she was, she's being who she was born as."

Social issues are not often as prominent as they were in those two presidential races. And voters who are conservative on same-sex marriage, abortion, or the mention of God in public schools, have tended to scatter widely when the prominent issues instead are economic. These voters may still prefer the Republican nominee on social issues, but in a cycle where there is no high-profile controversy concerning social issues, such voters have often judged the candidates almost exclusively on economic and/or national security issues. And the latter two issue clusters have far less predictability as presidential voting issues, since they are more likely to be situational or event-driven in nature. In other words: How strong is the economy, or how is the war going? A voter's answer to situational questions like these often drives his or her vote, or at least sets a political stage that starts out favorably or unfavorably for the incumbent party.

The emergence of the Tea Party movement raises the possibility that conservative Republicans are gaining an ability to make voting on economic issues less situational and more ideological. In other words, various types of conservatives are being more securely knit together. The movement is too new for this to be more than a possibility, but a test may well come when the Obama economy begins to improve. If this happens, as at some point it almost certainly will, does support for the president go up and the Tea Party movement fade? Or does the ideological component of the Tea Party's anti-big-government rebellion enable it to survive as an ongoing political force with a more and more specific agenda —even in the context of a better economic environment for the president and other Democratic incumbents?

The big reason I am optimistic about the latter being the case is something the Tea Party has in common with social conservatism: that is, the two movements' affinity for America's founding values.

The Cato Institute, Heritage Foundation, and other right-of-center advocacy groups have for a number of years made available to the public free pocket copies of the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution. More than a year ago these pocket copies began being observed at Tea Party rallies around the country. A wide range of these locally based Tea Party movements are conducting seminars on the ideas of America's Founders.

As for social conservatism and its relation to the American founding, Professor Robert George of Princeton, one of the most prominent of a new generation of social conservative leaders, has often remarked that belief in the words "All men are created equal"—literal belief, rather than as a sentiment or metaphor—is by far the best predictor of whether someone is a social conservative. If you believe those words from the Declaration are literally true, then the odds are you are a social conservative.

Given this rootedness in the founding, social conservatives and Tea Partiers have no problem with the idea of American exceptionalism centered on the idea that all persons are born with God-given equal rights. In other words, like Abraham Lincoln and Ronald Reagan, both movements feature a belief in an American exceptionalism that is in fact universal.

These are the things that social conservatism and the Tea Party movement seem to share. If the Tea Party is able to join social conservatism as a non-situational, ideological, American founding-centered movement in the years ahead, the political changes will be too vast for the historians of 2060 to be able to ignore. ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Republicans in Ithaca

The few, the proud . . .

BY DAVID GUASPARI

Ithaca, N.Y.

Among fellow right-wing crazies, Ithaca provokes less eye-rolling than Berkeley, Madison, or Ann Arbor, but it inhabits the same political Brigadoon, a perpetual 1968. (Its *annus mirabilis* actually occurred the following year, captured in the Pulitzer Prize-winning photo of Cornell's Afro-American Society trooping from Willard Straight Hall with raised rifles and bandoliers. That Cornell is an Ivy might, from time to time, slip people's minds, but the famous image proved it could be cutting edge.)

Ithaca is also full of smart, interesting, public-spirited people who are excellent company, though I do my best to keep conversations away from their monocultural politics. Our congressman, Maurice Hinchey, is best known outside the district for two pet theories: (a) that Bush/Cheney let bin Laden escape from Afghanistan in order to create a pretext for attacking Iraq; and (b) that the fake letter "exposing" Dubya's dereliction of National Guard duty, the sucker-bait that ended Dan Rather's career, was planted by Karl Rove for just such a purpose.

Theory (a) was aired on MSNBC. Asked by a gobsmacked interviewer whether he actually believed it, Hinchey produced the confident smile of one privileged to receive regular messages from Neptune through his fillings, then doubled down. He proposed theory (b) at a town hall meeting and, asked for supporting evidence, said, to enthusiastic cheers, that he needed none. It's unclear whether his political longevity (he's been in the House since 1993 and before that served 18 years in the New York assembly) is owed to his legislative record (e.g., cosponsoring the Kucinich resolution to impeach Bush); his ability, as a member of the Appropriations Committee, to bring home the bacon; or the electoral dynamics of New York State, which has been described as a jurisdiction in which incumbents are not defeated until after they're indicted.

Our congressman, Maurice Hinchey, is best known for two pet theories: (a) that Bush/Cheney let bin Laden escape from Afghanistan in order to create a pretext for attacking Iraq; and (b) that the fake letter 'exposing' Dubya's dereliction of National Guard duty was planted by Karl Rove to do in Dan Rather.

It therefore felt daring (if risking the occasional snide remark could be said to require anything resembling courage) to join a "strategy session" on reviving Ithaca's Republican party—invited by the party chair, who'd got my name from two of my neighbors. She, thank God, is openly gay, which takes certain PR problems off the table. The brain trust that convened comprised the four of us, though some brains missed that session because of previous commitments. Our immediate goal is to get candidates on the ballot. For several years, city council elections have consisted of Democrats running unopposed—though slightly nuanced according to whether they also appeared on ballot lines for the Green party, the Working Families party, or other political religions. Circulating petitions on behalf of candidates for the upcoming state and federal elections will serve as a dry run for 2011, when city officials are chosen—and we will be well on our way to becoming seasoned, canny, streetwise political operatives.

So we're talking Tocqueville. We're talking retail politics on a nano-scale, in a place where vegans may be thicker on the ground than registered Republicans. But, to quote Joltin' Joe McCarthy, we have a list—a list, one hopes, more accurate than any of his. Not a database. One made of paper, several pieces, with entries alphabetized by street name. Our first strategic move is to borrow scissors and cut these names apart to fill five small bags of confetti, each with the names and addresses of Republicans in a single ward.

My own ward is full of student apartments. In them, clearly, the great majority of those named on my scraps reside, or once resided, or may reside again in the fall, having sublet for the summer. How would a canny operative proceed? I search Cornell's website for my Republicans' email addresses and spam them. Four hours of work net one response fervently denouncing the Republican party (for "hypocrisy and incoherence" and "eschewing" things they shouldn't have) and concluding with a polite Thank-you-for-thinking-of-me. A well brought up kid. His reply calls dimly to mind a Nabokov story whose text is a letter that vigorously abuses its addressee for conducting an affair with the writer's wife and ends with a declaration something like: On the other hand, if I've got the wrong fellow, please ignore this.

A Nabokovian touch: I find that no

David Guaspari is a writer in Ithaca, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

such story exists but that a much better one, "The Admiralty Spire," has faint similarities. High-class literary allusions are not out of place. Once I'm on the street, mixing with my peeps, I find that the ritual of retail politics called "walking petitions" can be a ruminative, contemplative, undertaking—especially when the walks between peeps are lengthy.

I have leisure to note the Invisible Hand at work: The recently opened Mehak Authentic Indian Cuisine having advertised itself as a specialist in goat, I see that the Sangam (plain old) Indian Cuisine, three doors away, has been forced to respond with the notice "We Are Now Serving Goat Meat." I pass a sickly maple to which the city has attached a sign saying "This tree scheduled to be removed" and am mildly, pleasantly, surprised to find no one chained to it. One address lies on a street I've never heard of, though I have lived in this compact neighborhood for 25 years. MapQuest displays it in a place where I'm sure no street exists. The Harry Potterish mystery has a boring resolution; an apartment building called Sheldon Court sits where, presumably, a cul de sac of that name once existed.

My first set of signatures comes from a man who's selling his house in order to flee the city's steep taxes, my second from one who might also be a no-show at the polls, as he's breathing through a portable oxygen canister. I bag college-age brothers who may be proving a disappointment to their mom (someone not on my list), though she kindly goes out of her way to help me track them down.

Having overlooked one target on my way down steep East Hill, I trudge back up. A gentle rain, which has misted sporadically all afternoon, resumes. How goes it, I wonder, with the great DiMaggio? I fear both the Tigers of Detroit and the Indians of Cleveland.

I am, however, guardedly optimistic about the three married couples with land lines—suggesting to this canny if not yet seasoned operative that they are nonstudents. If the stars align I will just sneak into double digits.

The couple on O— Place have put a cheerful greeting on their answering machine, though it does not, as I might have hoped, specify "Petitioners welcome." I leave a message with my pitch, ring their door bell on four different days (once a dog barks; once a flag is flying), but never connect. It's the same story on F— Place (one day a lamp shines in a downstairs window; on another, a UPS package I'd seen on the stoop has been taken in).

I manage to score on C— Park, bringing my final tally, for a week's work, to six. But I was told not to worry about numbers. This is, in part, group therapy, to reassure political outliers that they are not alone, that Resistance is Not Futile. And for my schlepping I was warmly thanked by everyone who signed. Two days later I pass the C— Park couple in the supermarket and we all smile broadly: My peeps. ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Message from the 37th Treasurer of the United States

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Hello, I'm Angela Marie Buchanan. You might know me as Bay Buchanan.

I was appointed by Ronald Reagan to be the 37th Treasurer of the United States… maybe you've seen my signature on some of the bills in your wallet. So, you can understand why our nation's coins and currency are vitally important to me. That's why I'm so pleased to be able to announce this release of United States coins, precious metal bullion and special commemoratives.

I invite you to sample some of these magnificent collectibles. Enjoy them. Protect them. Celebrate them. What better way to hold America's history in the palm of your hand!

Sincerely,

Angela Marie (Bay) Buchanan

37th Treasurer of the United States of America
Co-Director, NCM
Board of Advisors

NATIONAL COLLECTOR'S MINT *presents*

U.S. Coins and

A unique opportunity to add our bestselling coins, bullion and commemoratives to your own collection. Now, all readers of The Weekly Standard enjoy discounts off our already low prices!

2010 Brilliant Uncirculated Silver Eagle Dollars

Celebrate the biggest, heaviest and purest Silver Dollars ever struck by the U.S. Gov't. — the magnificent Silver Eagles. With one full Troy ounce of .999 Pure Silver, the Silver Eagle was originally issued as an investment coin. But its intrinsic value and stunning beauty have made it one of the most beloved and collected U.S. coins, one which is becoming more desired by collectors. We recommend adding to your collection while they're available at affordable prices.

#19086 2010 BU Silver Eagle Dollar … ~~$34.95~~ **$33.20**

$50 Gold Buffalo Coin

Ask a collector what his or her favorite coin design is, and chances are that many will say the famous Buffalo design, first sculpted by James E. Fraser for the Buffalo nickel in 1913. It's no wonder, then, that the U.S. Gov't. chose this design when looking for what to depict on the newest $50 Gold coin. This is the FIRST gold coin minted by the United States that contains a full ounce of .9999 Fine Gold—and the purest gold coin ever minted. It's now available in Brilliant Uncirculated condition from NCM while supplies last. This coin is NOT available to the public from the U.S. Gov't., so this is your chance to get the coin that everyone is talking about—order now!

#19102 BU 2010 $50 American Buffalo Gold Coin … ~~$1,849.00~~ **$1,756.55**

Walking Liberty Half Dollar Victory Set

The "Walker" is widely considered to be the most beautiful .900 Fine Silver coin ever struck by the U.S. Government. The great sculptor, A.A. Weinman, showed Lady Liberty, our graceful symbol of freedom, walking toward the dawn of a new era, her hand outstretched in peace. The complete 20-coin set, in Fine or better condition, includes every issue minted by the Philadelphia, San Francisco and Denver Mints from 1941 to 1947.

#13944 Walking Liberty Half Dollar Victory Set in Deluxe Case … ~~$359.00~~ **$341.00**

This might be your last chance to acquire U.S. Gov't $5 American Eagle Gold Pieces!

These magnificent coins have been struck in pure 22 KT Gold, and they are among the last $5 Gold Coins to be issued by the U.S. Government. Sharply rising gold prices have made U.S. Gold Coins the hot new collectible. This has caused the U.S. Gov't to announce that fractional sizes of American Eagle Gold Uncirculated Coins, like the $5 Gold Piece will no longer be produced! National Collector's Mint has procured a limited number of near-perfect Brilliant Uncirculated $5 American Gold Eagles. We are releasing them at a special low price which cannot be guaranteed because of limited supply and market volatility. Each coin is backed by the U.S. Gov't for stated weight and content of pure gold which, by law, must come from sources in America. Don't be left out…order today before supplies have been completely sold out!

#17800 U.S. $5 American Eagle Gold Piece … ~~$199.00~~ **$189.00**

National Collector's Mint, Inc. is an independent, private corporation not affiliated with, endorsed, or licensed by the U.S. government or the U.S. Mint. All tributes to original coins contain the "copy" designation as mandated by federal law.

4A-480 © 2010 NCM, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

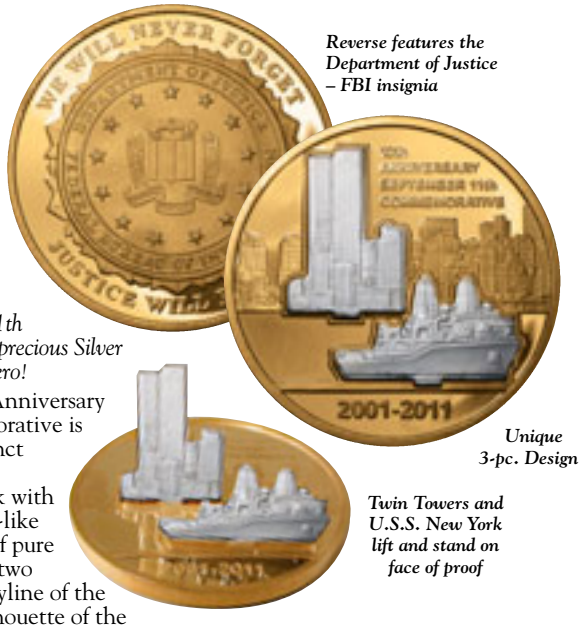
AN HISTORIC RELEASE OF

Commemoratives

Single Morgan Silver Dollars

With Miss Liberty's glorious profile on its obverse, the Morgan has become the most collected American Silver Dollar. But over 270.2 million of these .900 Fine Silver classic beauties were melted down to aid the war effort in WWI. And millions more have been melted each time there's been a run up in silver prices. That's why the value of the surviving Morgans has increased so dramatically over the 89 years since they were last struck. But condition is important and most U.S. Government Morgan Silver Dollars in this release are guaranteed to be in Brilliant Uncirculated to Fine condition, most over 100 years old. Several prominent national dealers charge from $10-20 more for a similar Morgan Silver Dollar, so don't wait, order now!

#11028 Morgan Silver Dollar – Our Choice of Date … ~~$29.90~~ **$28.40**



Reverse features the Department of Justice – FBI insignia

Unique 3-pc. Design

Twin Towers and U.S.S. New York lift and stand on face of proof

10th Anniversary September 11th Commemorative

Double-dated September 11th Commemorative featuring precious Silver Recovered from Ground Zero!

This truly unique 10th Anniversary non-monetary commemorative is created using three distinct struck pieces. First, a traditional proof is struck with frosted relief on a mirror-like base and clad in 14 mg of pure 24-Karat gold. Then, in two separate strikings, the skyline of the Twin Towers and the silhouette of the U.S.S. New York – the Navy ship made with steel from the World Trade Center are clad in a total 14 mg .999 pure silver actually recovered from the vaults beneath the ashes of Ground Zero, then inset with a jeweler's precision. Then the Towers and U.S.S. New York transform, rising up into a 3-dimensional sculpture. The obverse is double dated: 2001-2011. The reverse features the official Department of Justice – FBI insignia, authorized by the United States Secret Service Uniformed Division Benefit Fund. Special 10th Anniversary striking, supplies are limited. Order Now!

#17430 10th Anniversary September 11th Commemorative … ~~$29.95~~ **$26.95**

Your Choice: Sunshine Minting Ingots in .999 Fine Silver or .9999 Fine Gold

Sunshine Minting is considered one of the leading domestic and global suppliers of precious metal products. Their commitment to the quality, weight and purity of their products is unparalleled. In fact, they are the primary supplier of silver and gold blanks to the United States Government! Now you have the opportunity to acquire a precious metal Sunshine Minting ingot. You can select from a 1 Troy Ounce .999 Fine Silver ingot or choose one in pure .9999 Fine Gold in the 1 gram, 5 gram, 10 gram or 1 ounce size. Each piece is clearly marked with the weight and purity so you can buy with confidence!

Due to volatility in the precious metal markets, these prices are subject to change without notice. This is an excellent opportunity to add the security of precious metals to your collection. Don't wait. Order Now!

#18658 Sunshine Minting 1-oz Silver Ingot ..... ~~$29.95~~ **$28.45**
#19364 Sunshine Minting 1-gm Gold Ingot ..... ~~$62.50~~ **$59.40**
#19365 Sunshine Minting 5-gm Gold Ingot ..... ~~$295.00~~ **$280.00**
#19366 Sunshine Minting 10-gm Gold Ingot ..... ~~$585.00~~ **$555.75**
#19367 Sunshine Minting 1-oz. Gold Ingot ..... ~~$1,799.00~~ **$1,709.00**

$2 Bill Enhanced with 22 KT Gold Leaf

Did you know that the front of the current $2 Bill has remained largely unchanged since it was first issued in 1928, making it the oldest design of current US currency? And the back design, featuring an engraved reproduction of the painting The Signing of the Declaration of Independence, is the second oldest back? This seldom seen denomination is adored by collectors. Now, to further enhance its collectability, NCM has enhanced these notes with genuine 22 Karat Gold Leaf! Each of these magnificent notes is in crisp uncirculated condition. Don't wait! Order Now!

#11257 $2 Bill with Genuine 22 Kt Gold Leaf… ~~$12.95~~ **$11.65**

Call Toll-Free 24 Hours a Day • 7 Days a Week

1-800-799-MINT (1-800-799-6468) **ask for Ext. 8299**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They Still Blame America First

The curious human rights focus of the Obama administration. BY JENNIFER RUBIN

President Barack Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton assure us that they are champions of human rights. However, their focus, more often than not, is on America's shortcomings.

The administration created a stir in April, when a spokesman for the National Security Council reported on a meeting between Obama and Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev: "Both presidents agreed that you don't ever reach democracy; you always have to work at it. And in particular, President Obama reminded his Kazakh counterpart that we, too, are working to improve our democracy." Despite pleas from groups like Human Rights Watch to use the meeting as an opportunity "to raise concern about Kazakhstan's disappointing human rights record and to press for immediate improvements," Obama viewed this as simply one more chance to confess America's sins.

Likewise, the administration last month presented its "Report of the United States of America" to the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. This exercise is overseen by the infamous U.N. Human Rights Council (UNHRC), whose main preoccupation is vilifying Israel. The Obama administration confesses to such offenses as the disproportionately higher rates of unemployment in America among minorities. Are we to round up the president's economic team for permitting such "human rights" abuses to continue?

Anyone with a passing familiarity with the New Left of the 1960s will recognize the propensity to lambast America, to assert that the freest and most inclusive country in the world is deeply flawed. Its ills are magnified; its virtues ignored. This is human rights, Noam Chomsky style. But what else should we expect from a president who is resolutely a man of the left?

When he's not excoriating his fellow citizens, Obama's primary interest in "human rights" is as a tool to trumpet his own political accomplishments. The administration touts, again in its human rights report, its health care bill and financial regulation legislation as signs of progress. Apparently, critics of Obamacare, including a significant majority of voters, are undermining human rights.

While the administration is busy bashing America and redefining human rights as adherence to the liberal Democratic agenda, real human rights abuses go largely unremarked upon. The problem is especially acute in the Muslim world (on which the administration showers attention, overwhelmingly positive and esteem-building).

News item: A court in Saudi Arabia considered deliberately paralyzing a man as punishment for severing the spinal cord of another man in a fight. Amnesty International appealed to the Ministry of Justice when one Saudi hospital said such a procedure was possible. In the glare of public opinion the court last month relented. The Obama administration remained mum throughout.

News item: A Saudi "scholar," we are told, "called for a boycott of a supermarket chain that has hired female cashiers. . . . 'The danger of hiring females in such public places is that it is part of normalizing the Western culture and that it is hypocritical and should be stopped,' he said." Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, an indefatigable feminist at home, has remained largely mute on the topic of Muslim nations' treatment of women. In fact, the United States sat idly by in the U.N. when Iran, whose regime murders women protestors in the street and uses rape as a part of its standard repertoire in prisons, was elected to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women.

One might be tempted to conclude these are exceptional cases, but we know from the administration's own documentation that stonings, lashings, torture, honor killings, and deprivation of political and religious freedom are all too common.

The State Department's Human Rights Reports released earlier this year enumerate these and other practices. For Saudi Arabia there was ample evidence of a "lack of women's autonomy, freedom of movement, and economic independence; discriminatory practices surrounding divorce and child custody; the absence of a law criminalizing violence against women; and difficulties preventing women from escaping abusive environments."

You can learn from the State Department's report—though not from the high profile speeches of Obama or Clinton—that in Syria

> security forces reportedly continued to use torture frequently. Local human rights organizations continued to cite numerous credible cases of security forces allegedly abusing and torturing prisoners and detainees and claimed that many instances of abuse went unreported. Individuals who suffered torture or beatings while detained refused to allow their names or details of their cases to be reported for fear of government reprisal.

Turkey's record on torture is documented as well:

> Human rights activists maintained that those arrested for ordinary crimes

Jennifer Rubin is Commentary *magazine's contributing editor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were as likely to suffer torture and mistreatment in detention as those arrested for political offenses such as speaking out against the government, although they were less likely to report abuse. . . . [A]uthorities allegedly tortured some suspects to obtain confessions, while others such as transvestites were regularly subject to abuse by police on "moral" grounds.

A telling incident: A suspected thief was "tortured with nails and cigarettes during his interrogation and the mistreatment was verified by a medical report by the Van State Hospital. While awaiting trial, [his torturer] was promoted into the Ankara Antiterror Department."

These are brief extracts from voluminous reports. Great time and attention are devoted to detailing the grisly facts; the extent of the problem is no secret.

The ample documentation and news reports, tragically, don't carry much weight with the Obama administration. The administration "bears witness" and records data but takes little, if any, public action. Its priorities lie elsewhere—in defending its unpopular domestic agenda, in bullying Israel to relax the Gaza blockade and cease building in its capital, and in bolstering the prestige of the UNHRC, on which sit such human rights violators as China ("during the year there were reports that officials used electric shocks, beatings, shackles, and other forms of abuse"), Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. And the president's primary foreign policy mission, we have learned, is to ingratiate himself not with the Muslim citizens of the Middle East—many of whom would dearly love some American-style freedom—but with Muslim despots.

Our moral standing in the world has suffered over the last 18 months (as has the president's popularity in Muslim countries), but not nearly as much as have the victims of despotic regimes that receive lavish attention but far too little scrutiny from this president. These people are being treated like dogs—or worse—but the only pain our president feels is his own. ♦

Toomey, or Not Toomey

That is Pennsylvania's question.

BY MICHAEL WARREN

Philadelphia

When Pennsylvania Democrat Joe Sestak talks about taxes and jobs, he sounds at first blush like a business-friendly pragmatist. "We need to stand alongside small businesses," Sestak told a crowd of supporters at the Progress Plaza shopping center on Broad Street in mid-August. "A 15 percent tax credit for each new payroll job that's created would soak up … over 5 million unemployed in about two to two and a half years."

Republican Pat Toomey says his opponent doesn't know the first thing about creating jobs. "Joe Sestak cannot begin to understand what makes an economy work and where jobs come from," Toomey said three weeks later and several blocks south at the city's Fraternal Order of Police lodge. "His voting record is ample evidence that he doesn't understand."

Both men are seeking to replace voter-retired Democratic senator Arlen Specter. Sestak, a two-term congressman from the Philadelphia suburbs, successfully challenged Specter from the left in the May primary. A solid vote for the stimulus package, cap and trade, and health care reform, Sestak also calls for stricter gun control laws and is staunchly pro-choice.

Yet since defeating Specter, the former Navy vice admiral has tacked toward the center, garnering endorsements from centrists like former Republican senator Chuck Hagel and New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg. Standing with Bloomberg at the Philadelphia shopping center, Sestak aimed to align himself with the mayor's independent reputation.

"I would like to serve in the same pragmatic, business-like approach to resolving problems and let the consequences be what they might, as far as politics is concerned," he said. Sestak is hoping plans like his 15 percent tax credit reinforce this independence.

But Toomey isn't buying it. "Joe Sestak is from the liberal wing of the Democratic party, by his own admission," he says in a phone interview. "He has supported an agenda that is preventing us from having the kind of economic recovery that we could and should be having."

A former congressman and president of the Club for Growth, Toomey lost to Specter in the 2004 Republican primary, but his challenge six years later was strong enough to spook Specter into switching parties. Toomey's an unabashed conservative, making the case that reduced spending and lower taxes are the path to economic recovery. Toomey says the tax cuts of 2003 ought to be extended and expanded.

"Those tax cuts helped generate economic growth. They also generated jobs," he says. "I would [also] lower the capital gains tax rate, and I would lower the top marginal corporate tax rate to put it in line with our major trading partners and competitors."

For now, messages like this seem to be working for the Allentown Republican. Toomey has polled anywhere from 6 points to 10 points ahead of Sestak in recent polls, and the Rothenberg Political Report recently updated its assessment of the Penn-

Michael Warren is a Collegiate Network fellow and an editorial assistant at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sylvania Senate race from "toss-up" to "tilts Republican."

Still, problems abound for any Republican running statewide in Pennsylvania. Democrats outnumber Republicans among registered voters by over a million. Both current senators are Democrats, as is Governor Ed Rendell. The Keystone State last voted for a Republican presidential candidate in 1988. But Toomey says Pennsylvania is not as solidly Democratic as one might think.

"It's a state with a common-sense conservatism," he says, pointing out that Republicans hold 30 of the 50 seats in the state senate and are only 6 seats short of a majority in the house. "It's a state where people want to see economic growth in the private sector, fiscal discipline, and some balance. I represent those things."

Sestak, however, thinks Toomey represents big corporations, labeling him in the campaign's first general election TV ad "Wall Street's congressman." The ad uses footage of Toomey proposing to "eliminate corporate taxes altogether" in 2007.

"I applaud that Congressman Toomey did well on Wall Street. That's not the issue," Sestak said in Philadelphia. "We do need a Wall Street that can invest our money wisely, safely, with the right referee on the football field. We need it. It's where do you focus your attention, however, down in Wall Street—with a pragmatic approach or with an ideological approach?"

Toomey shot back with his own ad, attacking Sestak for voting for the 2008 bailout of Wall Street financial institutions and then receiving campaign contributions from some of those institutions. "Wall Street's the last place that should ever get a taxpayer bailout," he says in the ad.

As the White House's failed "Recovery Summer" rolls into the last several weeks of the campaign, Sestak will continue to tout his independence from the unpopular Democratic party and argue, in the manner of Barack Obama, that Toomey will bring back the policies of the past. Toomey, meanwhile, will point out how Sestak's votes with the Democratic caucus for increased spending have not helped boost the economy.

"Joe doesn't understand the damage that he and his liberal colleagues are inflicting on our economy," Toomey says. "They don't understand that it's free markets and limited government, it's free enterprise that creates real opportunity." ♦

The Unclubbable Senator

Jim DeMint, an outsider on the inside.

BY KENNETH Y. TOMLINSON

Jim DeMint vividly recalls his first meeting with Marco Rubio two years ago when the youthful speaker of the Florida House came seeking his support for the U.S. Senate. Rubio told how his Cuban refugee parents had worked hotel service jobs all their lives so he and his siblings could have a better life. He spoke of his accomplishments in the Florida legislature (Americans for Tax Reform calls him "the most pro-taxpayer legislative leader in the country"), and unashamedly he explained the guiding force in his life was a commitment to freedom.

Why was Rubio asking help from South Carolina's junior senator in his race for the Senate? Because no one from the National Republican Senatorial Committee would return his calls.

NRSC chairman John Cornyn of Texas had marshaled the backing of the GOP leadership behind Florida governor Charlie Crist—the career politician who just months before had hugged President Obama and embraced his massive stimulus bill. In the days ahead, when DeMint began actively working on Rubio's behalf, he was 30 points behind in the polls.

Earlier this year Rubio stood before thousands of cheering conservatives as the keynote speaker of the CPAC conference in Washington. Now it was the young Cuban American who held a 30-point lead in the Republican primary polls as Crist prepared to abandon the GOP to run as an independent.

Turning to DeMint on the CPAC stage, Rubio said he would not be there without the help of the South Carolina senator. "He believed in me when . . . most of the people who believed in me lived in my house," Rubio declared.

Rubio is not alone among Republican Senate candidates who owe gratitude to DeMint for helping them oust GOP establishment-backed politicians. In Pennsylvania, there is Pat Toomey, who effectively ended the career of liberal senator Arlen Specter. In Utah it is conservative Mike Lee, who knocked off veteran senator Robert Bennett. In Colorado, Ken Buck; in Kentucky, Rand Paul. Depending on the strength of what appears to be the impending GOP sweep, DeMint may play an important role in the election of eight new Republican senators this fall.

DeMint is a modest man, and he always makes clear that he is by no means the only force behind the seismic shift of power in the Republican party this year. But the story of DeMint's battle against congressional earmarks, and then against his party's leadership, has emerged as an important factor in the rise of GOP outsiders in this year's Senate races. It could be a harbinger of a historic shift in American politics in the years ahead.

DeMint is a most unlikely political crusader. For the vast majority of his

Kenneth Y. Tomlinson is a former editor in chief of Reader's Digest.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Olde King James would loveth this new Bible!

Hear Ye! Hear Ye!

The Holy Bible In Its Original Order

Why *This* Bible is Unique Above All Other Bibles . . .

The Holy Bible In Its Original Order is an extraordinary Bible—unique in two ways. **First**, it is the **only *complete* Bible ever published—with both Old and New Testaments—that accurately follows the original canonical or manuscript order** as recognized by most scholars. In addition, once the original order of the 49 biblical books has been restored, the Seven Divisions of the Bible are also re-established. *The Old Testament* contains: 1) The Law, 2) The Prophets, and 3) The Writings. *The New Testament* contains: 4) The Gospels and Acts, 5) The General Epistles, 6) The Epistles of Paul, and 7) The Book of Revelation. With this restoration to the lst century 'manuscript' order, a purposeful design, symmetry and story flow order of the Bible become more readily apparent.

It is a little known historical *fact* that the original manuscript order of both the Old and New Testament books was *altered* by early church fathers. *The Holy Bible In Its Original Order* includes commentaries that trace precisely how the Bible erroneously came to be in its present 66-book format—revealing how and why its books were mysteriously repositioned from their original order by fourth-century "editors."

Second, this version is a new translation—*an accurate version*—that reflects the true meaning of the original Hebrew and Greek with fidelity and accuracy, showing the unity of Scripture between the Old and New Testaments. Today, in the face of rampant religious confusion, those who read and study the English Bible deserve a quality translation that can be trusted. Reviewer Dan Decker of *Bible Editions and Versions* (January 2009) writes of this new version of the Bible: "**It is an excellent translation for those desiring a literal one.... We *heartily recommend* this fine translation.**"

King James I (1567 - 1625)

This new *Original Order Version* uses modern English, but retains the original grace, accuracy and grandeur of the King James Version, and eliminates archaic terms from the Middle Ages such as *thee, thou, ghost, hath* and *shalt.*

Included are vital **Commentaries** providing accurate accounts of the history, canonization and preservation of the books of the Bible: Who wrote them? When were they written? When were they canonized and by whom? Other **Commentaries** and **Appendices** answer critical questions such as: When was Jesus born? How did Jesus Christ fulfill the Law and the Prophets? When was Jesus crucified? How long was He in the tomb? When was He resurrected? What does it mean to be born again? What are works of law? What are the true teachings of the early apostolic New Testament Church that Jesus founded? Also, **biblical and historical chronologies** show an accurate timeline from the creation of Adam and Eve to the present. There are **detailed footnotes** and **marginal references** explaining hard-to-understand passages of Scripture.

With 1432 pages, *The Holy Bible In Its Original Order* is only 1-3/8 inches thick—and measures 8-1/4 by 10-1/2 inches. The **genuine handcrafted *lambskin cover*** features **gold stamped lettering**. The paper is **high-quality** French Bible paper with gold gilded edges. The pages are easy to turn and do not stick together. The Bible also features **wide margins** for note-taking, and a **center column** with selected **references, word definitions** and **alternate renderings** for various key words. It comes in a highly durable **presentation box**, beautifully adorned with *original* artwork.

Other Features: Triple bound for extra long life (Smythe stitched, spine stitched and glued)

- beautiful original artwork of the Temple in Jesus' time
- 14 commentary chapters
- 25 appendices
- six chronologies
- various maps

Includes over 280 pages of commentaries and appendices!

The Perfect Gift!

International Society of Bible Collectors: "EXCELLENT TRANSLATION!"

This new second edition of the Original Order Bible is now available in 3 styles:

- **Special Limited Deluxe Lambskin Edition with Custom Presentation Box (pictured) *$119.50***
- **Faux Black Calfskin Edition with Custom Presentation Box *$99.50***
- **Durable Laminated Paper Edition with Zippered Leatherette carrying case with handle and pockets for pens, notes (This $24.95 value is your free gift!). *$99.50***

3 EASY PAYMENTS!*

*You may charge any order in 3 equal monthly installments

Save $70 Off Act Now!

Special Offer for *Weekly Standard* Readers!

The Holy Bible In Its Original Order will retail in bookstores for $169.95, but *Weekly Standard* readers can own this exceptionally high-quality Bible for as low as $99.50 (+ $9 for S/H).

To order call **1-800-852-8346**
or mail coupon to
CenturyOne Books
111 South Orange Grove Blvd.
Suite 300-WS
Pasadena, CA 91105

SAVE $25 *plus* **FREE SHIPPING** On orders of 2 Bibles or more

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
No. Ordered ____ @ $____ + $9 each for S/H Total $ _____
$119.50 Deluxe Lambskin ___ *$99.50* Black Faux Calfskin ___ *$99.50* Paper Edition w/ carrying case
☐ Check/Money Order enclosed ☐ Please bill my credit card:
☐ MC ☐ VISA ☐ AMEX ☐ DISC
CC# _____ Exp. ___ / ___
Signature _____ Sec Code _____
CA residents please add 9.75% sales tax | Distributor Inquiries Welcome

Preview Online! www.OriginalBibleRestored.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

life, he had little interest in politics. "I'm a normal guy," he says with the grin that often crosses his face. He was a family man—a husband and father of four children. He owned a business in his native Greenville, S.C. He was a leader in his church. At various points he served on something like a dozen community boards because to him volunteerism was a way of life.

His profession was marketing, which led him to a career as a consultant. His clients included regional businesses, schools, and hospitals. In his work, he came to see top-down bureaucracy as the enemy of organizational success. And what worked? Empowering frontline employees.

But time would prompt him to see Washington in the same way, as an increasingly bossy and centralized bureaucracy. Complex federal regulations and taxation and expanding government programs were changing America—creating a society of dependents. When DeMint speaks, you hear echoes of the long-ago anti-big government commentaries of Ronald Reagan.

In 1998, at age 46, he decided to run for Congress. He had never run for public office. In a large field of veteran political candidates, he was given little chance of winning. For one thing, DeMint was a passionate free trader in a state whose industrial base had been devastated by the effects of foreign competition. Indeed, DeMint's support for trade earned him spirited opposition from textile titan Roger Milliken, a powerful funder of conservative causes. (Today, they are friends, and Milliken is a strong supporter of DeMint's work.)

But when he arrived in Washington to assume his House seat, no one would have pegged him as a troublemaker. He was elected president of his House class and regularly attended seminars given by the House GOP leadership.

But something happened to DeMint in these leadership seminars that would change the course of his life. The gatherings were entirely focused on the means for concentrating and preserving political power: How to milk K Street lobbyists for political contributions; how to place earmarks into appropriations bills so they would be deemed essential to the folks back home.

One day, DeMint had had enough. He rose up in a seminar to question why representatives of the party of

Jim DeMint

smaller government were so focused on earmarks and political fundraising. Why aren't we talking about reforming the federal tax code or addressing the health care mess?

Midst laughter, someone shouted, "You'll catch on to the system, DeMint." But DeMint never did.

In the House, DeMint worked with a handful of serious reformers like Wisconsin's Paul Ryan, but their bills went nowhere. And when elected to the Senate in 2004, his early work with Tom Coburn for earmark reform appeared an exercise in quixotic futility.

Many of DeMint's colleagues dismissed his concern over earmarks, arguing they were nickel-and-dime manifestations of traditional politics. But taking a page from the late Robert Novak, DeMint believed that the appropriations system, and the power of appropriators, was the key to runaway spending and taxation and regulation in this country. (Novak likened appropriators to the Vatican's College of Cardinals.) Without serious appropriations reform, i.e., term limits for appropriators and full transparency for earmarks, there would be no serious tax and spending reform.

To the powerbrokers of Washington, this is political heresy—and makes DeMint a menace. This is why DeMint gives so much credit to Sarah Palin for challenging the machine of the late senator Ted Stevens, because his earmarks—most notoriously the $400 million bridge-to-nowhere—symbolized a political system rotten to the core.

In 2006 DeMint assumed the chairmanship of the Senate Steering Committee, a band of conservatives who are an irritant to establishment leaders of both parties in the Senate. He had some good moments. He played a vital behind-the-scenes role in derailing Bush-McCain-Kennedy amnesty for illegal immigrants.

In reality, though, his accomplishments were few. The elections of 2006 and 2008 were disastrous for congressional Republicans. In long talks with his wife Debbie, he contemplated packing it in rather than running for reelection in 2010. He was convinced that nothing was going to change in Congress unless the very nature of go-along-to-get-along Republicans changed.

It was these conversations that led DeMint to one of the most radical departures from decorum in the history of the Senate. DeMint decided to create a new campaign and serious funding mechanism (the Senate Conservatives Fund) to support reform candidates for the Senate—even if that meant ousting prominent members of the hallowed Senate club.

That is how Marco Rubio came to the office of South Carolina's junior senator.

Will newly gained political power lead DeMint to seek an overthrow of Mitch McConnell or John Cornyn and the Senate Republican leadership? Those close to DeMint say his efforts are not motivated by a desire for a spot in the leadership office.

But a sense of determination comes over this modest, small town Southerner as he reflects on Republicans in the Senate. "Members must know that if they oppose changing the grip appropriators hold over the process, they will face grassroots opposition that may cost them their seats," he says. "We don't need to reform earmarks, we need to eliminate them."

The seemingly all-powerful Washington political class is taking DeMint a lot more seriously these days. ♦

GAGE SKIDMORE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lifestyles of the Rich and Liberal

The conspicuous consumption of today's Democratic pols

By Noemie Emery

"The very rich are different from you and me," F. Scott Fitzgerald observed, eliciting the famous rejoinder from Ernest Hemingway, "Yes, they have more money." Today he might add that they are apt to be Democrats, often exceedingly liberal Democrats, fond of talking of "fairness" and equity as they rake in what seems like vast sums of money, and spend immense sums on themselves. Confronted with tales of their zillionaire populists, liberals claim (a) that the way that they vote counts for more than the way they spend money; and (b) that many great names in political history have lived well and had money themselves. The last point is true, but there is a difference in degree and in kind that has only come recently. Let us consider the facts.

For 200 years, the approach to money of Americans in power has been a studied aversion to glitz. The Founders who could spend lavishly on clothes, wine, and houses, thought the "pressure to get the image right for political reasons" (as a biographer of Martha Washington put it) ruled out displays of the sort of indulgence that could be considered as "fit for a king." A century later, the Roosevelts distanced themselves from the Gilded Age moguls, avoiding Newport and upper Fifth Avenue for smaller townhouses on less splashy streets. Theodore built a large, ugly house at Sagamore Hill on Long Island, and had enough money to go on safari, but otherwise frowned on extravagance, with his second wife urging his daughter Alice "not to buy fifty hats at twenty dollars apiece and two dozen stockings at five dollars apiece and thirty veils and ten pairs of shoes. . . . How would you like Archie [her half-brother] to give up college to pay for your debts?" His fifth cousin Franklin, whose mother controlled much of his money, and his niece Eleanor were even less inclined to be big spenders. "They lived like a rather old-fashioned American gentleman's family in 'comfortable circumstances,'" wrote Joseph Alsop, their cousin. "There was nothing in the way they lived that could be said in the smallest degree to be glossy, or particularly conspicuous." Roosevelt's "home at Hyde Park was a comfortable, old shoe country house for a large and noisy family. . . . If he always dressed in custom-tailored suits and expensive woolen sweaters, they were often tattered and wrinkled," writes Michael Barone in *Our Country.* "One senses that [he] saw no reason that anyone needed to live more luxuriously than he did, and that he felt incomes above the level of his own should be used to help ordinary people, not to make obscene extravagance possible for a few."

John Kerry's 76-foot yacht, 'Isabel'

AP IMAGES

So strongly was "obscene extravagance" ruled out as a model that when Joseph P. Kennedy, who could have bought the Roosevelts many times over, was looking for a family seat in which to raise his future political leaders, he bought the Malcolm cottage in non-posh Hyannis Port, because, as Michael Knox Beran informs us, it was *not* ostentatious or large. "Even after he enlarged it, the Malcolm cottage remained a conspicuously modest place, a New England summer house, spacious and comfortable but not at all grand, a rambling, white-shingled somewhat ordinary house . . . the house of a successful lawyer, a well-off banker, not an American tycoon." The children he raised there would be hungry for many things, but material goods were not some of them. John Kennedy, who lived all his adult life on the proceeds of a $10 million trust fund he was given when he reached 21 ($155 million in today's money), gave all of his salary to various charities, totaling about $400,000 between 1947 and 1962.

As he lived on money he did not earn, and worked in essence for nothing, there was no link in his mind between money and effort, which he tried to make up for by con-

Noemie Emery is a contributing editor to The Weekly Standard.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stantly asking acquaintances what they paid for things (which he had bought for him), and how much they made. This did not seem to work, as his father was once stunned to hear him explain to an aide that $5,000 a year was more than enough for a family to live on. Periodically, Kennedy *père* would ask friends to drop in and explain money to him, but these efforts were never rewarded. Kennedy would ask if there was "enough," be told that there was, and then would lose interest. It didn't concern him at all.

Like TR with Alice, JFK was embarrassed by Jackie's extravagance, and penchant for socializing with the idle and otherwise rich. "Tell her it's hurting me politically," he told his chief of protocol, concerning her insistence on keeping an Arabian thoroughbred given her by the king of Saudi Arabia. "More Caroline, less [Gianni] Agnelli," he cabled in August 1962, when she spent a month with her sister Lee Radziwill in Ravello, Italy, where she cut costs by staying in private houses, but raised eyebrows by partying with the jet-set till dawn. He was also irked by her domestic extravagance. "Staff as well as friends detected . . . friction over money," Sally Bedell Smith informs us in her book *Grace and Power*, in particular over $40,000 ($250,000 in today's money) in bills for "department stores," after which he imported the accountant who helped bring down the Teamsters to straighten out her finances. Nonetheless, her expenses peaked in 1962 at $121,461 ($875,000 in today's money), $21,500 more than her husband's earnings as president. Kennedy, Smith says, could afford this, but found it unbecoming: "He was careful with money, and disliked the appearance of financial excess."

The Gore house in Nashville

Kennebunkport, the Bush family compound in Maine, followed the FDR pattern of an "old shoe country house for a large and noisy family," with an ambience much like that at Hyannis, with its competitions and endless activity. The rich vacationed at their summer houses, sailed small boats, and played football and horseshoes. Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush had simple ranch houses in California and Texas, where they rode bikes and horses, and mainly cut brush. This was the pattern of the rich in American politics. Until 2003-2010.

Oddly, it was with three of the four on the Democrats' 2000 and 2004 national tickets that the great change would take place. When he at last lost the Florida recount, Al Gore had lived for eight years in the vice president's mansion, and owned two different houses: a brick Tudor across the Potomac in Arlington that had belonged to his wife Tipper's family, and his family farm back in Tennessee. Shortly, he bought a 20-room, 10,000-square-foot house in the Belle Meade section of Nashville, and embarked on a career in the private sector that would balloon his net worth into a substantial fortune, in the $100 million-plus range. At the same time, he began a second career as an anti-global warming crusader that won him a Nobel Peace Prize and an Oscar, but allowed him to use an endless procession of jet planes and motorcades as he went to a series of Save the Earth rallies, at which he urged people to live in a green and more modest manner, build smaller houses, use less heat and power, and drive and fly less.

In 2008, he acquired a houseboat, a 100-foot custom-built Fantasy Yacht estimated to cost between $500,000 and $1 million. In 2010, he bought a fourth house, a seaside estate in California, spending almost $9 million for a "gated ocean-view villa . . . with a swimming pool, spa, and fountains . . . wine cellar, terraces, six fireplaces, five bedrooms, and nine baths in more than 6,500 square feet." In 2007, a study by the Tennessee Center for Policy Research revealed that Gore's house in Nashville "devoured nearly 221,000 kilowatt hours in 2006—more than 20 times the national average," that his monthly gas bill averaged $1,080 and his electric bill $1,359. "Why would anyone need a fourth mansion?" asked the Huffington Post, which called "Gore's commodity addiction" at odds with his professed belief in "simplicity of living, care for other beings," and concern for the state of the earth.

All this was true, but at four houses, (two of them mansions), along with one boat, he was still a mansion short of John Kerry, the Democrats' nominee in the 2004 cycle, who, when he married Teresa Heinz, widow of John Heinz, the Republican senator, fell heir to all this in one swoop. And some swoop it was, consisting of spectacular digs in five first class settings: the Heinz family house in Fox Chapel near Pittsburgh; a mansion in Georgetown; a beach house in Nantucket; a ski lodge in Idaho (shipped over stone by stone from Great Britain); and a $6.9 million town house on Boston's Beacon Hill. The combined square footage of these spreads is unknown, but they had an aggregate value of almost $30 million when he was running for president in 2004.

To balance his ticket, he tapped John Edwards of North Carolina, who had made nearly $60 million in his prior career as a tear-jerking lawyer, and, while campaigning on behalf of children too poor to afford coats in the winter, was soon to start building a spread in his home state that seemed like four houses in one. The *Carolina Journal* reported that the main building was 10,400 square feet, connected by a

THE TENNESSEAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

2,200-square-foot enclosure to a 15,600-square-foot "recreational building," housing a basketball court, a squash court, two stages, bedrooms, kitchens, and bathrooms, a swimming pool, a four story tower, and a room called "John's Lounge." Edwards, who talked incessantly of the poor, might have served them better if he had just built the main house and given the cost of the rest to a neighborhood charity. That would have bought a whole lot of coats.

In July 2010, as Bill and Hillary Clinton were throwing a $2-3 million-plus wedding for their daughter Chelsea (of which $11,000 went for a gluten-free wedding cake) and Michelle Obama was planning a lavish vacation to Spain's Costa del Sol, the *Boston Herald* revealed that John Kerry was the owner of the *Isabel*, a 76-foot, $7 million yacht custom-made in New Zealand, which he had kept at a dock in Newport, Rhode Island, to avoid paying an estimated $500,000 in Massachusetts state tax. The boat, according to the brochure of the company, had two VIP suites (and one for the help), a wet bar, cold wine storage, and seated six around a custom-made table of Edwardian style ornate varnished teak. Add this to the Heinz-Kerrys' five land-based places of residence, and they now have in all six luxury "houses," each estimated at over $4 million, for a total of $36 million.

The $11,000 gluten-free cake

CORBIS IMAGES

If "$300 will put you on the briny in a fine sit-on kayak, Kerry's tax bill alone could guarantee summer fun for 1,666 Bay State households," the *Boston Herald* reported, adding that if this was too primitive, a 10-year-old 24-foot Bayliner could be had for $30,000. Kerry "might not want to be seen in one," the paper conceded, "but for what he's been shelling out in taxes, he could be the proud owner of 16 of them, and still have about six months of his average constituent's take-home pay."

As all this played out against the recession, Michelle Obama, who has the use of the White House, Camp David, and the family manse in Chicago, took off for Spain on Air Force Two with her daughter, a few pals, and several dozen members of the Secret Service, blocking off 60 to 70 rooms in a hotel described as a "millionaire's playground" where rooms went for between $400 and $6,500 a night. For the next five or so days, people in the Gulf states and elsewhere were treated to film of her enjoying the oil-free beaches and waters, seeing the sights in Jackie-O sunglasses, being ferried by plane to Majorca for lunch with Spain's royal family, and taking the waters on a beach near the ocean, which had been specially cleared by police. The cost to the public was estimated at close to $375,000. Once, as *National Review*'s Jim Geraghty notes, the Obamas had seemed a refreshing and sensible couple, "comparably normal by . . . candidate standards, a successful couple with adorable children . . .[who] talked about paying off student loans." This was before "vacations so frequent they . . . blur together," and "entertaining with $59 per pound Wagyu steak, [and] fundraisers with quail egg and caviar and salmon ceviche."

Al Gore owns four homes, one boat, and gorges on kilowatts while urging the world to make small carbon footprints. John Edwards crusades for the destitute while building a palace. John Kerry promotes higher taxes while dodging those on a $7 million yacht he bought in a recession. Michelle Obama urges young people to reject high-paying jobs in the business world for nonprofits and community service, while indulging a taste for designer couture, expensive vacations, and designer sports sneakers, which she wore while feeding the poor.

What's wrong with these pictures? Two things. First, the hypocrisy undercuts the moral authority, and makes it ridiculous. Second, it's a mega leap up from what looks from the outside to be not that much more than upper-middle-class comfort—nice house in town, nice country house, nice small sailboats, nice American cars—to the mega-rich level of yachts and multiple mansions, available to only a very small fraction of the upper crust: rock stars, sports stars, film stars, nouveau-riche captains of industry, and others not known for their modesty, balance, and sense of restraint. Live on a level accessible to some of the people you govern, and you send the message that you are a citizen. Live like a king, and you send the message that you think you are one, that you see nothing amiss in appropriating far more than what your politics say is your share of the universe; that you are entitled because you are worth more than others, that this is your due. Someday, Democrats should sit down and ask themselves how they came in such a short space of time to produce so many marquee figures who wanted to talk like French revolutionaries while living like French royalty. Ask Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin Roosevelt, John Kennedy, or the Bushes to spend $7 million on anything, and they would have had heart attacks. Ask them to buy a yacht during a recession, and they would have been aghast.

Fitzgerald said the rich were soft where others were hard (and vice-versa), and he may have been accurate. But these rich are soft in the head in a way that is nothing but hard on their party, which needs to restore a previous model. There was, after all, no "Jack's Lounge" at Hyannis and no "FDR's Lounge" at Hyde Park. ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Endgame

How the Big Three concluded the Good War

BY ALONZO L. HAMBY

They met at Yalta—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Joseph Stalin, and Winston Churchill—to divide up the world, or so the popular legend goes. Charges of betrayal followed quickly. The American president, critics declared, had conceded Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe to the Soviet Union. He also had sold out Chiang Kai-shek's pro-Western regime in China. Feeble and appeasement-minded, he had ignored Churchill's all-too-prescient warnings. These two intensively researched volumes reveal a measure of truth in the indictment. They also remind us that history does not yield gently to the demands of statesmen, follows no inexorable path of liberal progress, and is as often as not a saga of tragedy without a hint of farce.

Alonzo L. Hamby, biographer of Harry Truman and the author, most recently, of For the Survival of Democracy: Franklin Roosevelt and the World Crisis of the 1930s, *teaches history at Ohio University.*

Yalta 1945
Europe and America at the Crossroads
by Fraser J. Harbutt
Cambridge, 468 pp., $38

Yalta
The Price of Peace
by S.M. Plokhy
Viking, 480 pp., $29.95

Fraser Harbutt, professor of history at Emory, devotes little more than a tenth of his *Yalta 1945* to the conference itself. His achievement is to provide a rich and densely argued context. Focusing sharply on British foreign policy during World War II, he asserts that British statecraft, as practiced not simply by Churchill but also by Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and the permanent Foreign Office bureaucracy, had already established a postwar division of Europe. A notorious "spheres of influence" agreement with Stalin in October 1944 effectively ceded most of Eastern Europe to Soviet control while preserving British hegemony in the Eastern Mediterranean nations. That—and the march of the Red Army into Eastern Europe—presented Roosevelt with a *fait accompli*, which the president attempted to cover with a fig leaf "Declaration on Liberated Europe" promising democratic elections and liberal institutions. What had occurred, Harbutt asserts, was simply a manifestation of "traditional European diplomacy."

S.M. Plokhy, professor of Ukrainian history at Harvard, delivers a detailed account of the event itself. His narrative, more suited to a general readership, thoroughly surveys the back and

BETTMANN / CORBIS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forth of the discussions among the three principals and their chief aides. He even gives us a little face time with "the girls"—the adult daughters who accompanied Churchill, Roosevelt, and the U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, W. Averell Harriman. The girls deliver human interest and occasional glimpses of the cultural gulf between the Westerners and their hosts. (Depicting the banality of an evil beyond the comprehension of the liberal Westerners, for example, Kathleen Harriman describes the dreaded secret police chief Lavrenti Beria as "little and fat with thick lenses, which gave him a sinister look, but quite genial.")

Both authors agree on the importance of an obvious, yet often overlooked, point: Yalta was a wartime meeting—from February 4 to February 11, 1945—designed primarily to plot the final acts of World War II and to lay the groundwork for a definitive peace conference that likely would occur in 1946. Its implicit delineation of spheres of influence—for the Soviet Union: Eastern Europe (assumed but not stated), Manchuria, Sakhalin Island, and the Kuriles (all relegated to a secret protocol); for Britain: the Mediterranean rim—was doubtless intended to prefigure the peace settlement. So were preliminary agreements about the nature of the United Nations, which then seemed destined to become an important and powerful stabilizer of world affairs. Other critical peace issues—most notably, the future of Germany as a unified state, and the amount of reparations it would be expected to pay—remained unresolved. The expected replay of Versailles, as it turned out, was never held. Yalta established the postwar order (or disorder, as Harbutt calls it) by default.

Both authors point out that the West came to Yalta with a weak military hand. Anglo-American forces, just recovering from their setbacks in the Battle of the Bulge, were only beginning to enter Germany; the Soviets had advanced to the Oder river, a scant 50 miles from Berlin. In the Pacific, after a long and bloody island-hopping campaign, the United States was completing its reconquest of the Philippines. The final phases had been planned: The invasion of Iwo Jima was imminent, Okinawa next, then a cataclysmic invasion of the Japanese home islands. Roosevelt and Churchill could hope that the secret project to develop an atomic bomb might shorten the war, but there was no way to be certain that the bomb could be developed, or to gauge its impact if it was. The Soviet Union was still neutral in the Pacific war. The United States urgently needed its intervention.

Summit meetings held in fluid wartime situations with relatively unscripted scenarios provide maximum opportunities for individuals to be makers of history. Each of the Big Three leaders came to Yalta with impressive personal gifts and well-defined goals. Each made compromises. Each left feeling he had been more successful than not. Stalin emerges as the biggest winner. Entering the conference with the strongest hand, he played it to maximum advantage. It is debatable, however, whether he was (as Harbutt thinks) a modern version of Metternich or Bismarck. Plokhy, a native Ukrainian with a vivid historical memory of Stalinism, is more ambivalent.

In order to defeat the most menacing totalitarian threat of the 20th century, Roosevelt and Churchill found themselves forced to ally with the other great totalitarian power of their time.

Unlike the founders of European realism, the Soviet dictator was not a conservative traditionalist who wanted to restore an old order. He was a determined revolutionary who saw the expansion of his nation's power as a means of advancing socialism. Temporarily holding his military lines at the Oder, he diverted divisions south to secure his grip on the Balkans. Possessing limitless cynicism about human nature, conceiving of sovereignty over subject peoples as total domination, he was a conscienceless sociopath, willing to sacrifice lives without limit. He defended without compunction the Red Army's tolerance of wholesale rape and looting. Suspicious to the end that his Western allies would make a separate peace with Hitler, he seems to have felt that paper agreements might have a utility in binding partners who made them but did not require reciprocal good faith. When his foreign minister, Vyacheslav Molotov, privately expressed qualms about the Declaration on Liberated Europe, he responded, "We can deal with it in our own way later. The point is the correlation of forces." Plokhy quotes him as remarking that "the best friendships are those founded on misunderstanding."

Churchill emerges from both books considerably diminished in stature. A tribune of democracy and an unabashed imperialist, torn between rhetorical idealism and cynical realism in his diplomacy, he was at best a man of contradictions. Harbutt depicts him as an exploitative betrayer of Poland and, after the war, as a deceptively self-serving memoirist. Plokhy describes him as more similar to Stalin in his realpolitik than to Roosevelt. Both authors see the much-maligned Eden, and Britain's senior career diplomat, Alexander Cadogan, as steadying influences.

A more generous assessment might treat Churchill's surface inconsistencies as outcomes of his efforts to balance a hard-eyed appreciation for power with a liberal conscience. Correct in understanding that Poland could not escape heavy-handed Soviet influence, he nevertheless struggled as a matter of principled commitment to achieve some measure of autonomy for it. His other diplomatic causes, before and after Yalta, strengthened the postwar position of the liberal West. His determination to maintain the Mediterranean as a British lake bolstered democratic forces in Italy, saved Greece from a Communist dictatorship, and helped preserve Turkish independence against Soviet demands for control of the Black Sea straits. His insistence on reestablishing France as a great power promoted the rehabilitation of the only postwar West-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ern European nation capable of raising a mass army that could put up a fight against a Soviet incursion.

In all these matters, he was at odds with Stalin and frequently at variance with Roosevelt. He was hamstrung by the uncomfortable fact that Britain had become a junior partner in the alliance, dependent on American financial support and facing an uphill struggle to reestablish itself as a major power in the postwar world. Given his lack of leverage, his diplomatic achievements were substantial.

Roosevelt was the preeminent leader of democracy during World War II. No other national leader expressed the ideals of freedom so frequently and eloquently nor indulged so naturally in the conviction that liberal-democratic values were destined to become global norms. He defined the purpose of the war in such telling phrases as "Four Freedoms," and "United Nations." He was determined to establish a new international organization that would keep the peace and enforce the precepts of liberal democracy around the world. In all these ways, he followed in the footsteps of the president under whom he had served a generation earlier, Woodrow Wilson.

Yet Roosevelt, fully as much as his cousin Theodore, was conscious of the paramount role of power in world politics. As assistant secretary of the Navy under Wilson, he had been an advocate of a big navy and a strong American global presence. He personally delighted in the exercise of power. His approach to foreign relations was an uneasy and inconsistent mix of publicly declared utopian ideals and a privately held sense of power realities. Having no immense formal empire to defend, he differed from Churchill largely in his preference for proclaiming a grand liberal vision.

For a time, Roosevelt talked privately of a postwar world that would be managed by "four policemen" (the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China) with the sanction of the United Nations organization. As the war progressed, with China remaining in hopeless disarray and Britain increasingly dependent upon American largesse, he seems to have decided that the two surviving truly great powers would be the United States and the Soviet Union. Given his indulgence in the original sin of summit diplomacy—a belief that relations among states depended upon personal relationships between their leaders—he surely came to feel that friendship with Stalin was more important than with Churchill, who in any case had no recourse.

Inside the Livadia Palace: Stalin (left), Roosevelt (center), Churchill (right)

BETTMANN / CORBIS

From the beginning of his political career, Roosevelt had defined himself as a progressive—by the 1940s, the term of art was "liberal"—and his diplomacy fit the reform mood of the time. However fond he may have been of Churchill, he had nothing but disdain for the British Empire, which he saw as exploitative of its native peoples and an economic rival to the United States. In fact, he saw no interest in supporting the survival of any of the Western European empires threatened by the war. He seems particularly to have deplored that of France, whose leader, General Charles de Gaulle, he heartily disliked.

Conversely, the president and most liberals considered the Soviet Union a compelling, if flawed, social experiment. Harbutt cites John Kenneth Galbraith, then an upper-level official in the Office of Price Administration, as remarking that "Russia should be permitted to absorb Poland, the Balkans, and the whole of Eastern Europe in order to spread the benefits of Communism." Roosevelt had extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union in 1933, appears (according to George F. Kennan's memoirs) to have sanctioned the disbanding of the State Department's Division of Eastern European Affairs (a focus of anti-Soviet sentiment) in 1937, and consistently disregarded warnings of Soviet espionage efforts in the United States. The war and the massive Soviet contribution to allied victory made it all the easier, indeed imperative, to assume a sunny disposition toward Stalin and his regime.

Stalin was the primary object of Roosevelt's diplomacy at Yalta. Roosevelt likely saw himself and the Soviet dictator as the primary arbiters of world politics in the postwar years and behaved accordingly. He positioned himself, not as half of the Anglo-American alliance, but as an independent mediator whenever disputes arose between Churchill and the Soviet dictator, referring to himself as "Judge Roosevelt." It is impossible to know how seriously Stalin took this, but he encouraged it.

Roosevelt clearly had his illusions about his Russian allies and was willing to make concessions to them, but he was no dupe. His priorities at Yalta were probably not neatly ordered in his mind—he was anything but a neat thinker—but two seem to have stood out. Politically, he wanted Soviet adherence to the new United Nations organization, which he envisioned as a necessary mechanism for long-term U.S. international involvement. Here, he appears to have drawn on the World

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War I experience: Convinced that the American people once again would demand the return of their soldiers posthaste, he freely expressed his sense that American armies could not be kept in Europe for more than two years after the defeat of Germany. A solidly established postwar peacekeeping organization, embodying the continuing unity of the wartime alliance, seemed the best hope for avoiding a replay of the isolationist unilateralism that had characterized the 1920s and launched the world on the road to the next global conflagration. (Some historians have also noted that a United Nations that recognized regional agreements and understandings could legitimize U.S. hegemony in the Western hemisphere at least as fully as Soviet dominance in Eastern Europe. In 1945, American presidents could reasonably expect to command a near-unanimous bloc of Latin American nations in the new world body.)

Militarily, Roosevelt's crucial priority was to bring the Soviet Union into the war against Japan. The price was high: effective control of Manchuria and the transfer to the Soviet Union of strategically important Japanese islands in the northwestern Pacific. Moreover, Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese regime claimed Manchuria but had not exercised control over it since the Japanese takeover of 1931. The Red Army, the only force capable of dislodging the Japanese, would likely seize the province anyway once the enemy was making its last stand on the home islands. The president stalled at first, but soon decided it was expedient to give Stalin what he wanted. American military leaders were positively ebullient: Admiral Ernest J. King, perhaps the toughest and hardest among them, declared, "We've just saved two million Americans!"

The president's strategy glossed over wide ideological differences. Stalin's leadership, domestic and diplomatic, was built on the brutal exercise of raw power. Roosevelt had taken a cue from Woodrow Wilson in justifying the war with high-minded, utopian rhetoric. As early as January 1941 he had committed himself to four freedoms—of speech, of religion, from want, from fear—"everywhere in the world." That August, he and Churchill had ended their dramatic meeting off the coast of Newfoundland by issuing the Atlantic Charter. Reminiscent of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, it pledged a list of personal and collective freedoms that would underwrite a new and peaceful world order.

No less than Wilson, Roosevelt had identified victory with the end of a sordid era of episodic violent upheaval and power politics, perhaps an end to history itself. Yet in order to defeat the most menacing totalitarian threat of the 20th century, he and Churchill found themselves forced to ally with the other great totalitarian power of their time. Neither could do much for the unfortunate peoples of Eastern Europe, trapped between Hitler and Stalin; yet neither could publicly repudiate their shining ideals. Yalta was their last attempt to come to grips with the cunning of a history beyond their control.

Within the administration there were a few quiet dissenters who understood the immense gap in perspective between the liberal West and the Soviet state, anticipated Soviet totalitarian dominance in Eastern Europe, and foresaw a long period of tension between the United States and its Russian ally. One was the counselor of the American embassy in Moscow, George Kennan. Kennan privately suggested to Charles Bohlen, Roosevelt's interpreter and an adviser on Soviet affairs at Yalta, "divide Europe frankly into spheres of influence—keep ourselves out of the Russian sphere and the Russians out of ours." Better a cynical exercise in *Machtpolitik*, he allowed, than a denial of reality and the pursuit of illusion. "Foreign policy of that kind cannot be made in a democracy," Bohlen replied. More than a quarter of a century later, almost as if he were channeling Roosevelt, Bohlen elaborated on his point in his memoirs: "Foreign policy in a democracy must take into account the emotions, beliefs, and goals of the people. . . . The good leader in foreign affairs formulates his policy on expert advice and creates a climate of public opinion to support it."

Bohlen was surely correct that the president could not have sold to Congress or American voters a blatant division of peoples and territories, but Roosevelt erred in the other direction. In the final months of his life, he substituted utopian hopes for the probability that the postwar world, while better and safer, would remain one dominated by national states with conflicting interests and tendencies to engage in power politics. All the same, he had sacrificed no vital American interest, conceded to Stalin practically nothing that the Soviet leader could not take anyway, and extracted from him the valuable pledge, secured by major territorial concessions, to join the fight against Japan.

By the end of the conference, Roosevelt surely believed he had closed deals with Stalin that would both shorten the war and underwrite an enduring alliance. Churchill could leave feeling optimistic about future British hegemony in the Mediterranean. Stalin could luxuriate in territorial concessions that exceeded the achievements of the greatest czars. Roosevelt's closest aide, Harry Hopkins, recalled the American mood to his biographer, Robert E. Sherwood: "We really believed in our hearts that this was the dawn of the new day we had all been praying for and talking about for so many years. We were absolutely certain that we had won the first great victory of the peace." His one worry was the possibility that Stalin—"reasonable, sensible, and understanding"—might somehow fall from power.

The wheels of international politics turned on inexorably. In a matter of weeks, Soviet suppression of democratic forces in Eastern Europe, along with Russian accusations that the United States and Britain were discussing a separate peace with Germany, touched off a "crisis" (both authors use the word) within the alliance. Scarcely a week after Roosevelt's death (April 12, 1945), Ambassador Harriman was telling the new president, Harry S. Truman, that the Soviet consolidation of its sphere of influence amounted to a "barbarian invasion of Europe." One year later, Churchill would deliver the Iron Curtain speech. A year after that, a thoroughly disillusioned Truman would proclaim the Truman Doctrine.

The Cold War had begun. ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

B&A

Uncommon Reader

Frank Kermode, 1919-2010.

BY TRACY LEE SIMMONS

When the eminent English critic Frank Kermode died last month, the *Washington Post* duly noted his passing and added prosaically that "no cause of death was reported." But as Kermode took his leave at the age of 90, you would think curiosity on that score would be less than ravenous: He'd had a long run and, after writing or editing 50 books for more than 50 years and holding down academic posts at a half-dozen universities (where he occasionally had to fend off the claws of academic betrayal, bickering, and general malevolence), he most likely went quietly of a well-earned fatigue.

What didn't take him was despair. No matter how the fashions of the professoriate waxed and waned, Kermode remained steadily and, some might say, stubbornly enthralled with authors and with the books, great and good, they wrote. The novelist David Lodge called Kermode "the finest English critic of his generation."

Literary criticism may be a parlor game to most, but in an age of endangered traditions and dissolving perspectives, not to say publishers' flagrant willingness to fill our shelves with nonsense, the deliberate effort to read books in order to evaluate and expand upon their meanings for a less read or less clever public pays cultural dividends. Some critics, such as Ezra Pound and T.S. Eliot, emerged as the light changed over the literary landscape and did their part to usher in freshened understandings about what words can do. They also benefited from insights afforded only to literary artists. But Kermode came along a generation after all the excitement. The profession of critical letters must have seemed a dreary business in the late 1940s and early '50s, but seeing he had no future as a poet or playwright, he "stumbled into academic life" and donned the scholar's gown to begin a long career of teaching and writing.

KATHERINE EASTLAND / THE WEEKLY STANDARD

Frank Kermode came from working-class stock. Born on the Isle of Man in 1919, he clocked in early years as a clerk and later as purser on a steamship—subsequently serving in the Royal Navy during World War II—but a scholarship took him to the University of Liverpool. He chose to read English literature, but knowing perhaps that the son of a shopkeeper would need every arrow his quiver could hold, Kermode made sure he paid his humanist's dues by taking on not only Greek and Latin but French, German, and Italian as well, in their historic as well as their modern incarnations. His was the dogged ambition of a serious man, not a dilettante. He wished to meet the past on something like equal terms, and nothing in the Western literary tradition would be alien to him.

While Kermode made himself, on paper, a scholar of the Renaissance—Spenser, Shakespeare, Donne—he found his learned curiosity too wide-ranging to be confined to two or three centuries and became a critic of all literary writing in the English language. His studies would eventually extend all the way up to D.H. Lawrence and Wallace Stevens, and only a year ago he offered up what would become his last book, on E.M. Forster. His other studies included, most famously, *The Sense of an Ending* (1967), *The Genesis of Secrecy* (1979), *The Art of Telling: Essays on Fiction* (1983), *Shakespeare's Language* (2000), and a memoir, *Not Entitled* (1995).

Although he strenuously believed that literature existed to be read and enjoyed rather than reduced and dissected, Kermode, ever the tolerant thinker suspicious of the dogmatist, still welcomed in a collegial spirit the critical winds blowing from the continent in the 1960s and '70s in the forms of structuralism and deconstruction, and even defended a few of the movements' devotees—running aground a few times, and once resigning a post at Cambridge in protest. But he remained a critic eager to reach out from academia to wider audiences, reviewing new novels from Updike to DeLillo, appearing on the *Third Programme*, the BBC's arts and culture showcase, and later cofounding the *London Review of Books*. All of this made him a public figure and kind of "media don," not an unmixed blessing for a man of letters.

It has been said that much critical writing in the rarefied climes of literature consists of telling authors how they should have said what they didn't mean. Frank Kermode remained content with what they actually said, and he dedicated himself in all he did to spreading the gospel of good reading. ♦

Tracy Lee Simmons, author of Climbing Parnassus, *directs the Dow Journalism Program at Hillsdale College.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

B&A

Equality & Servility

There are dangers in the democratic trends of democracy. **BY MARK BLITZ**

Sensible people worry today about the West's direction. What recently seemed to be merely a slow decline now seems to be a steady and even headlong slide. A thousand hands push us downward into a prisoner's cell where we must share every dollar, watch every word, and bless every bureaucrat. The cell is roomy and secure, with exotic vines creeping up the bars. But it is a cell nonetheless. Looming over it are the strangely chilling apparitions of Obama and Brown, and the oddly manic specters of Clinton and Blair. Or should we say Gordon, Barack, Bill, and Tony because, as Kenneth Minogue points out in this bracing new book, galloping informality is one aspect of our new egalitarian world. No wonder that Tony's comic attempt to restore a "respect" society in Britain was bound to fail.

The Servile Mind
How Democracy Erodes the Moral Life
by Kenneth Minogue
Encounter, 384 pp., $25.95

Why was it Tony's business anyway to tell us how to live, or Jimmy's to tell us to snap out of our malaise? As Minogue tells it, we are becoming rats for politicians' experimental schemes, patients for their white-coated therapy, objects for their fantasies of perfection. The utopianism which, in the wake of the Marxists' collapse and defeat dares not speak its name, has regrouped as the piecemeal perfectionism that believes it can harmlessly and step-by-step overcome all inequality, poverty, and war. The woebegone electorate sometimes seems, to its nominal political servants, to be unworthy of their inspirations. (One thinks of President Obama's arrogant lectures about constitutional rights and racial profiling.) But this lingering public recalcitrance will soon enough disappear, as hitherto independent citizens learn to recognize the endless vulnerabilities they should feel and the endless injustices they have caused. Only the state can put things right.

Minogue is a distinguished professor emeritus of political science at the London School of Economics. In his case, one may actually say distinguished without choking on ironic bile, not least because he laments a world in which the deference has disappeared that "distinguished" should call to mind. He is clearly a conservative whose conservatism owes much to Michael Oakeshott and Edmund Burke. He is not a friend of the effect of abstract and universalistic arguments in political life. He is not an enemy of religion, or unconcerned with it. He mentions economic vitality, but it is not his chief concern. His conservatism is not libertarian, or even focused on natural rights. He worries that we are losing, or have already lost, the attachments and respect for attachments that guide common sense.

He is, nonetheless, focused on the independent individual, his primary point of co-ntrast with the overweening state. He admires our daily world of home, place, and profession not simply in themselves but primarily because they help to convert impulse and license into responsible freedom. At the end of the day, what is morally worthwhile in our actions results from our own choices, commitments, and integrity, not from unthinking obedience to immemorial custom. We might call Minogue's standpoint Thatcherism in a human space.

Minogue's purpose in *The Servile Mind* is to explore the elements of current life that justify and define sensible concern about it. He does not offer "policy" solutions, as if a tax cut could cure a crisis of the soul, and his tone is more analytic than prescriptive. But it is certainly prescriptive in its own way, gently mocking, replete with characterizations that push one's sentiments in the proper direction, and filled with accurate and arresting formulations. One does not call a mind servile to praise it, even if one claims only to be describing things as they are.

Minogue advances his indictment largely by developing a series of dichotomies, and by showing us that the servile side is the one to which our leaders have been driving us. He does not deny countervailing forces—as he could not, given the complexities of democracy. Nor does he fail to praise the features of modern life that make it attractive to citizens and immigrants. Wealth, vitality, and freedom abound. Nonetheless, the general tendency to sap the moral responsibility at our core is unmistakable.

In place of yesterday's hierarchy, authority, and deference, we now treat and regard everyone identically. In place of the formality by which we keep our distance, experience independence, and show proper respect, we now revere informality in dress, address, and action. In place of good manners we are intimidated by the tyranny of political correctness. In place of respectability we confess vulnerability. In place of the ambivalence of everyday action and choice we now see ambiguities merely as problems to be dissolved by universal and easy solutions. In place of prudent judgment about human limits we eagerly seek perfection. In place of living our own lives we are conscripted into the lives the state chooses for us. In place of responsible risks and mutual care in the family, we defer to a government that is always ready to take our burden. In place of special concern for ourselves, our loved ones, our associations, and our country, we are pushed or required to distribute resources and power equally.

In place of individuals with a host of family, professional, and religious obli-

Mark Blitz, the Fletcher Jones professor of political philosophy at Claremont McKenna College, is the author of the forthcoming Plato's Political Philosophy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gations, we increasingly have detached "singletons" who are pliable material for politicians' schemes and needy consumers of their promises and guarantees. In place of self-government we are oppressed by international bureaucracy and lulled by loose talk of governance, stakeholders, and corporate responsibility. In place of life as play, as a game in which we seek success and follow the rules, we see life as the endless filling of expanding wants. In place of healthy competition we are urged toward flaccid cooperation. In place of thoughtful, calculated desire we are mastered by impulse. In place of celebrating our civilization and its achievements we are bullied into bouts of guilt and orgies of apology.

The fault is always ours. Life for today's "eudaimonic units" is often easy but hardly alive. Minogue's indictment would be enough to make one head for the hills, had they not already been flattened by the egalitarian steamroller.

Many elements of Minogue's indictment are familiar, but he brings them out with special force. His book is particularly useful for Americans because his European examples differ from our usual fare, and because Europe's regress is more advanced than ours. Although we are in some ways tamer than Europe—ours is the land of soccer moms, not soccer hooligans—we, on the whole, remain more aggressively independent. The masters who seek to mold us are still within our power to push aside, not untouchable administrators beyond our control. The familiarity and accuracy of Minogue's indictment, however, makes it evident that, although we may be a seat or two behind the Europeans, we are descending with them on the same device.

Minogue wishes to describe the unifying core of our concerns, not merely to list them. His worries are not random. The heart of the difficulty is rulers' attempt to impose a way of life on their citizens. Such imposition displaces individual deliberation and responsibility. It usurps our moral space. In fact, enough such imposition may bring us back to the world of unquestioned habits, practices, and beliefs from which individualism liberated us. We would be even worse off than we were because the rational spirit that engineered the liberation will be unavailable in a political world that thinks it is already absolutely just and perfectly reasonable.

"Nationalizing the moral life," Minogue warns us, "is the first step toward totalitarianism." Rather than supplying "the framework of law," our rulers are "busy turning us into the instruments of the projects *they* keep dreaming up."

Minogue's concern is not with moral rules and pious virtues narrowly understood but with our freedom to govern and organize ourselves. Moral life is the "inner experience in which we deliberate about," and act on, "our obligations to parents, children, employers, [and] strangers." In doing this, "we discover who we are and we reveal ourselves to the world." This "self-management" or "moral autonomy" "emerges from the inner life and is the stream of thoughts and decisions that make us human." Such individuality is the opposite of servility, for the "classical individualist's . . . moral world" rose "from the coherence of self-chosen commitment. His basic duty was to his own conception of himself." When political authority appropriates this autonomy it diminishes us, "and our civilization loses the special character that has made it the dynamic animator of so much hope and happiness in modern times."

The evidence for this human self-belittling is the group of democratic practices, fantasies, and fears listed earlier. But Minogue's primary focus is not this or that egalitarian outrage or absurdity but the general loss of freedom to which they contribute.

Minogue's argument is unfailingly intelligent. His emphasis on individual coherence and commitment, however, might lead one to think that he favors rootless choice and self-invention. This judgment would be incorrect, for he has in mind responsible moral life within a given (although impermanent) complex social world. One wonders, nonetheless, whether his overall defense of individualism is adequate theoretically, or sufficiently compelling practically. I worry that his grounding of his view through brief discussions of John Austin, Hegel, and Oakeshott leaves individual freedom unanchored.

One gap in Minogue's discussion is his distance from the importance of natural rights. The virtue of an argument that clarifies the presence of natural rights is that it shows the preference for freedom to be more than a prejudice because it gives it a reasonable basis. Natural rights describe an inalienable authority that each can recognize in himself because of his own unavoidable power to reflect, prefer, and choose. This authority can be occluded, and it is difficult to convert it to concrete liberty to, say, possess property or vote.

Queen Elizabeth, Tony and Cherie Blair at the Millennium Dome, 1999

ANWAR HUSSEIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Still, individual natural authority, or freedom, is not a variable possibility that one can wish away but a universal power among human beings that they can notice in themselves.

The existence of individual natural rights is not the whole truth about human happiness and choice. Still, the need to execute one's equal rights in a regime of effective, limited government gives rise to the responsibility and deliberation that Minogue admires when he invokes the moral life. One can, of course, take demands disguised as rights too far, and this is properly one of Minogue's concerns. Yet it is also true that a natural ground for rights provides a standard that allows us to understand them correctly as the basis of our own self-reliance rather than as rewards we exact from others.

The wish to expand and defend freedom, moreover, has shown itself to be an inspiring practical cause. It is an "idealism" that can counter today's false idealisms, as it countered yesterday's tyrannies. It gives us something to fight for and to honor, a pride and even reverence beyond mere material success or traditional loyalty.

A second gap in Minogue's account concerns the status of what we choose to do with our freedom. Minogue's discussion is too remote from the question of how to judge reasonably the goods we should select. Coherence and responsibility are not enough in themselves to orient us, or to provide a worthwhile or happy life. They trade on an implicit grasp of what is good about the generosity, honor, friendship, and knowledge to which one commits oneself, and on an implicit sense of how to pursue and enjoy these goods in an ordered and measured way. This implicit understanding must sometimes be surfaced and subjected to the universal light of reasoned reflection, even if the effect of such general discussion is often dubious.

The key is to learn to think well enough about ourselves to recognize and defend our freedom, and to grasp enough of what is good to use this freedom prudently. Minogue's forceful, persuasive, and illuminating book helps us to accomplish this task. ♦

B&A

Defining a Decade

The lines in the sand are not yet redrawn.

BY JAMES BOWMAN

On the cover of *Living in the Eighties* there are three photos: one of Ronald Reagan, smiling, with an American flag behind him; one of the classical façade of the New York Stock Exchange; and the third of Madonna, barely out of her teens, wearing her no-longer-unmentionable lingerie as performance rig and her natural hair color with an incongruous and outsized belt buckle inscribed "Boy Toy."

Living in the Eighties
Edited by Gil Troy and Vincent J. Cannato
Oxford, 240 pp., $21.95

What brand, do you suppose, could cover those three things, if not the decade named in the title?

The need to brand decades, like other things, is essentially a marketing tool, but political branding has this peculiarity: that the brand itself always represents a political struggle. Were the eighties the decade of greed and excess, as those who were out of power for most of it now maintain, or were they a golden age when America won the Cold War and Reaganomics brought prosperity to more Americans than ever?

To their credit, Gil Troy and Vincent Cannato make some effort to treat this marketers' mêlée evenhandedly. They have collected a dozen essays by as many different hands on many different aspects of the decade, and they lay out in their introductory essay the two rival viewpoints into which they naturally fall. On the one hand, there is what they describe as "The 'Golden Age' narrative," which sees Reaganism as a long-delayed return to normalcy after the cultural and political aberration of the sixties. On the other are those "critiques of the 1980s as a 'Gilded Age'" that are themselves "tinged with nostalgia for the 1960s. For these critics, the narrative is one of 'backlash,' of resentful white males depriving blacks, women and the poor of whatever gains they made during the 1960s."

So which is it to be, Golden or Gilded? The editors claim that "many of us argue that there were both good and bad elements," but I have to say that my reading turned up precious few such fence-sitters—and few, too, who hold to the Golden Age position. As you might expect from a collection of academics, nearly everyone is anti-Reagan. Troy, a professor of history at McGill, contributes a fairly even-handed account of Reagan's first year, and Edwin Meese, very much the odd man out in this company, gives the orthodox Reaganite view of the administration's successes. Peter Schweizer of the Hoover Institution makes the case, though it is not an uncritical one, for Reagan's instrumentality in the fall of the Berlin Wall 10 months after he left office, while Kim Phillips-Fein of the Gallatin School at NYU writes of Reaganomics as "The Rebirth of the Free Market."

But it turns out that Phillips-Fein is no fan of the free market which, she believes, creates what she describes, mixing her metaphors, as an "accelerating gap between rich and poor." As for the partisans of a second Gilded Age, Joseph Crespino of Emory reproduces a standard left-wing talking point about how Reagan sought to exploit racial divisions for political gain, even if he was not personally racist; David Greenberg of Rutgers writes of "the Reorientation

James Bowman, resident scholar at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, is the author of Honor: A History *and* Media Madness: The Corruption of Our Political Culture.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Liberalism in the 1980s," but from an unashamedly liberal point of view that regards the "synthesis" of Bill Clinton's brand of liberalism as a temporary phase on the way back to a more robust liberalism under Barack Obama.

Sara M. Evans writes of the "backlash" against feminism that she and other hearty souls of the movement are said to have "survived"—this even though the editors in their introduction scold her proleptically but not by name for the progressivist (not to say Marxist) assumptions behind the use of a word like "backlash." What Evans, a professor emerita at the University of Minnesota and a historian of feminism, calls "the virulent, even vicious, opposition to feminism in the 1980s" led, she thinks, to a reaction whose result was "to make feminists more invisible in the media and even to themselves."

Even the essays that are not primarily about Reagan or party politics are mostly on the left side of the cultural divide that we now think of as a feature of the last two decades but that got its start during the eighties. Record producer Steve Greenberg's account of popular culture and popular music emphasizes a reaction to what he calls (quoting approvingly from Dave Marsh) "the ruthless laissez-faire heyday of upper and lower-class criminality that characterized the '80s." Not to mention "a backlash"—there's that word again—"against the perceived dominance of black and gay culture in white America." Lauren F. Winner of Duke has the wit to examine not only "how did the politically conservative activist evangelicals of the Religious Right shape American culture and politics during the 1980s," but also "how did larger cultural shifts during the same decade reshape, however subtly, evangelicalism?" Yet she never quite gets around to explaining this in detail, or how and why it happened that "during the late 1970s and 1980s, abortion gelled as a central plank of evangelical political life." In what way was this an example of evangelicalism which "had once again adapted itself to the mainstream American culture that it sought to transform"?

Bruce J. Schulman of Boston University sees the social problems of the decade in relation to Reaganite enthusiasm for private and voluntary action over that which was public and government-run. In common with the other anti-Reagan partisans, Schulman represents his bugbear's pernicious ideas as being far more powerful than in fact they ever were—implying that they were unchallenged, unquestioned, and uncriticized at the time and since: "Reagan's once-controversial arguments about the superiority of the private sphere and the futility of public action had become an almost unchallenged assumption of American life." This is so wildly at odds with the recognizable realities of life in America today that you might almost think it had been written around 1990, when despairing liberals were beginning to think that Reaganism might go on forever.

Nowadays, even President Obama has good things to say about Ronald Reagan, but here the old hatred lives on. . . . These are essays by those who, like the Bourbons, have learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

Come to mention it, Schulman has this in common with most of the other contributors whose views, pro and con, on the decade seem to have changed little if at all in 20 years. Journalistic cliché though it is, Philip Graham's dictum that journalism is "the first draft of history" is actually a hopeful thought, since it implies that the second, third, and subsequent drafts will refine and improve the rough and ready insights of our less-than-sober or judicious media culture. But just as so many of today's historians aspire to be journalists—it's a far surer route to fame and fortune—so *Living in the Eighties*, though it must be somewhere around draft five, still burns with the partisan passions of the decade itself. Nowadays, even President Obama has good things to say about Ronald Reagan, but here the old hatred lives on. There is little sense of any perspective, no judicious reassessment of the period in the light of further experience. These are essays by those who, like the Bourbons, have learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

That is particularly unfortunate because, from today's vantage point, the eighties appear in retrospect to have been almost a Golden Age—if you'll pardon the expression—of comity and national unity. The depth and bitterness of the split between left and right in the late 1960s and '70s had lessened with the failures of Carterism, while the split between the cultural left and right of the nineties had not yet made itself felt to most people. Americans were generally at peace with the various "liberation" movements of the 1970s—either because their achievements had become accepted and even institutionalized, as with civil rights or the sexual revolution—or because there had been enough of a return to the status quo ante for it to be described by Sara M. Evans as a "backlash."

Indeed, Madonna represented a new strain of feminism to which her generation of feminists were blind or dismissive—though looking backwards, once again, it appears to have had more staying power than her own brand. Partly because of that retrograde Boy Toy, lots of women felt a different kind of liberation in the freedom to think that it was okay for them to be sexy and feminine again, just as it was okay to flex America's military muscle again or push back against some of the more unpopular social programs of the Johnson and Nixon administrations. The prosperity built on Reagan's economic policies also served to bind the country together by success in what was seen by large majorities as a common enterprise.

In *Living in the Eighties*, however, the battle lines are drawn with the firmness of today's most vehement partisans. As a result, one's final impression from this collection amounts to nothing more than that some people think one way, others another. This latest draft of history is little more enlightening than the first. ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

B&A

Moviegoer's Choice

A delightful evening spent watching a man amputate his arm? BY JOHN PODHORETZ

Say it's a Saturday night this fall, and your average moviegoer has a choice of staying home and trying to whittle away at the 18 episodes of *Breaking Bad* he has on his DVR but has never actually watched, or going out to the movies—which will cost him and his beloved at least $70 between tickets and popcorn and soda and a babysitter. So what might he see? Among the most highly anticipated movies of the season is one in which a man has to cut off his own arm with a knife; one in which a group of escapees from Stalin's gulag have to walk from Siberia to India in the dead of winter; and another in which a man wakes up to find himself buried alive in a coffin in which he stays through the course of the film.

Now, there are very good reasons to see these films. The one about the man who cuts off his own arm, *127 Hours*, is the first movie by Danny Boyle following *Slumdog Millionaire*, a masterpiece that also made $400 million at the box office and won eight Oscars. The second, *The Way Back*, is the work of another exemplary director, Peter Weir, whose films include *Witness*, *The Year of Living Dangerously*, and *Master and Commander*. And the third, *Buried*, stars Ryan Reynolds, who has proved himself one of the most attractive and engaging leading men of our time.

And yet consider our average moviegoer. He probably saw *Slumdog Millionaire* in one form or another and loved it, as who didn't? He's seen two or three Peter Weir movies even if he didn't know they were Peter Weir movies, but the poster will remind him. And he will likely respond to an image of Ryan Reynolds's face, which he knows from *Van Wilder* or *The Proposal*, even though he might not actually know Reynolds's name. But will he have any desire whatever to witness a self-amputation? Or men starving and freezing for months? Or someone trapped in the most claustrophobic and desperate condition imaginable?

Such films are part of a peculiar subgenre: the "human endurance" genre. Often based on true stories, as *127 Hours* and *The Way Back* are, these movies offer portraits of ordinary people forced to live (or die) through grueling physical experiences that push them to the very limits of existence. Such stories have been a staple of literature for centuries; think of *Robinson Crusoe*, published in 1719, which was itself based in part on the story of a shipwrecked sailor named Alexander Selkirk. The thought of being shipwrecked for 28 years, as Daniel Defoe imagined his Crusoe, must have been as terrifying in the 18th century as the prospect of being marooned on a spacecraft would be to us today.

Mark Wahlberg, George Clooney

WARNER BROS / COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION

In the past few decades, these physical human horror stories have become a staple of the bestseller list, beginning with *Alive*, Piers Paul Reid's 1974 account of an Andean plane crash whose survivors were forced to resort to cannibalism to survive. It was followed over time by *Into Thin Air*, Jon Krakauer's tale of a Mount Everest climb gone very bad, and *The Perfect Storm*, Sebastian Junger's story of a fishing boat that got crosswise of a nor'easter.

The conundrum for our average moviegoer is that the better these movies are—which is to say, the more accurately and vividly they capture the experience of having one's arm pinned under a rock or being without shelter through a Siberian winter or being trapped in a coffin—the worse they will be to watch. But if they attempt to mitigate the horror, they will instantly seem false. The film version of *The Perfect Storm* is the ideal negative case in point, as it features an absurd ending in which George Clooney and Mark Wahlberg bob around in the ocean laughing about what a great time they had trying to save their boat as they drown.

The ability to withstand conditions that would overwhelm ordinary people is the key to all cultural portraits of heroism, from David slaying Goliath to Odysseus surviving Scylla and Charybdis to Charles Lindbergh's solo flight across the Atlantic to the astronauts. But in the past few decades, there's been something of a change: These stories are told about people who really aren't heroes in the same sense, as they are not enduring their suffering for any reason other than rotten fortune, and have no grand goal in any case. Their tales dwell on the most gruesome and clinical aspects of the challenges that cruel fate has set for them.

Whether these movies thrive or fail at the box office is less important, of course, than whether they are successful works of popular art. But without giving these characters transcendent purpose other than mere survival, as the endurance genre has failed to do in our time, these films will simply be an endurance test of their own. And really, one might as well stay at home on the couch rather than live through it. ♦

John Podhoretz, editor of Commentary, *is* THE WEEKLY STANDARD*'s movie critic.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Solving some of the most intractable conflicts in the world today requires innovative strategies for cross-cultural engagement. Cordoba Initiative tackles this mandate with forethought, expertise and the ability to leverage contacts in influential positions within the Muslim World and the West. Thinking outside the box about international and intercultural conflict resolution also means thinking introspectively about each side's place within its own historical narrative with a view to devising internally oriented solutions." — from the "Our Mission" page of the Cordoba Initiative website (cordobainitiative.org)

http://www.crusaderhouse.org/mission

CRUSADER HOUSE

DEUS LO VULT

HOME | OUR MISSION | WHY CRUSADER HOUSE? | WHAT WE DO | CATAPULTS | FO

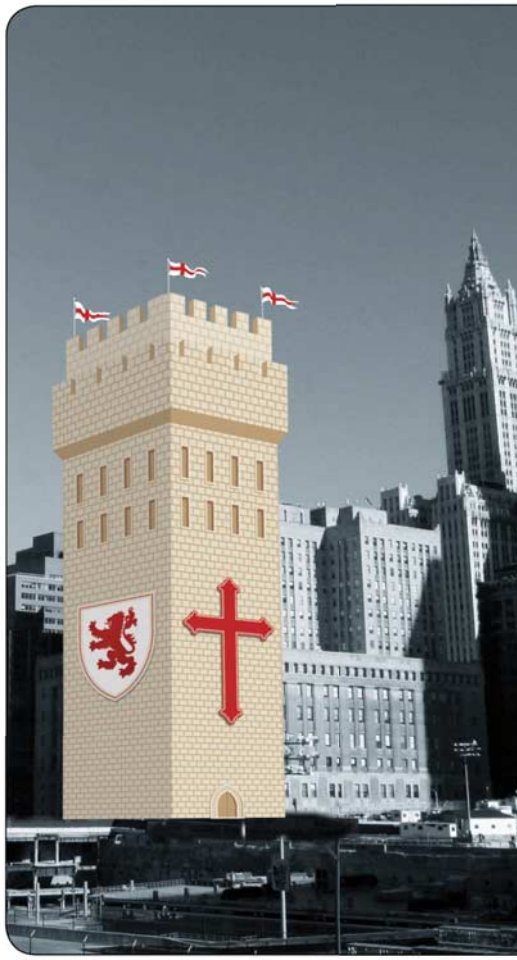
OUR MISSION:

Situated in New York City, one block from Ground Zero, a location chosen for no particular reason—it's strictly a coincidence that airplane parts from the cross-cultural events of 9/11 rained down on this site, you can trust us on this point—Crusader House will actively seek to implement innovative strategies for intercultural engagement. Our programs will draw inspiration from the storied Crusaders of the 11th to 13th centuries. Often misunderstood, Crusaders sought closer contact with their Muslim neighbors in the Holy Land. They reached out by employing the same cultural tactics that Muslims themselves used earlier in the millennium during a period of rapid and irresistible expansion. Muslim cross-cultural engagement had transformed Cordoba and a number of other Spanish cities into places where converts to Islam were vigorously welcomed.

Mayor Bloomberg extended his warm support to Crusader House, once he was assured that this new cultural facility will have the same mission as Cordoba House.

"They want to build bridges," said Dick Plantagenet, chairman of the Crusader House Initiative and president of the Lions Club. "We want to be the first folks they meet when their bridges reach our shores. We, too, will be thinking 'outside the box,' which does not refer to the 'tall box' shape of the former World Trade Center towers."

Plantagenet added, "Like the Cordoba House, Crusader House will include all the amenities: theater facilities, arts center, basketball court, food court—oh, and a swimming pool. It is important to compensate for the notorious shortage of swimming pools in New York City houses of worship."



A rendering of Crusader House, situated a

© CRUSADER HOUSE · ALL RIGHTS RESERVED | CONTACT US | PRIVACY POLICY | DONATE | WHERE T

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED